

# **The English Landscape Garden: A Walk through its Identity**

**Pedro Jorge Garcia Pinhal**

Dissertação realizada no âmbito do 2º ciclo de Estudos Anglo-Americanos  
Orientada pelo Professor Doutor Jorge Miguel Pereira Bastos da Silva

Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto

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## **Membros do Júri**

Professor Doutor Gualter Mendes Queiroz Cunha

Faculdade de Letras - Universidade do Porto

Professor Doutor Jorge Miguel Pereira Bastos da Silva

Faculdade de Letras - Universidade Porto

Professora Doutora Maria de Fátima de Sousa Basto Vieira

Faculdade de Letras - Universidade

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## **Resumo**

Palavras-chave: English Landscape Garden

O *English Landscape Garden* é um dos tipos de jardim mais notáveis em Inglaterra. Este tipo de jardim é o resultado de um vasto período de experimentação, tanto na sua teoria como na prática. Embora a evolução deste jardim já tenha sido estudada, as contribuições para a construção do conceito deste mesmo são diversas, como também outras ideias e tipos de jardim surgem a partir deste mesmo conceito. Pode-se então levantar a seguinte questão: embora o *English Landscape Garden* seja um modelo de origem inglesa, até que ponto as outras ideias e estilos que surgem a partir deste conceito, não são elas também parte da identidade deste tipo de jardim.

## **Abstract**

Keywords: English Landscape Garden

The most famous garden style in England is the English Landscape Garden model. This type of garden is the result of vast experimentation, both in theory and practice. While the evolution of this garden has already been studied, the contributions made for the construction of its concept are diverse, as other ideas and styles also emerge from it. Consequently, the following question can be raised: to what extent the ideas and styles that appeared throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries during the evolution of the English Landscape Garden, which is truly English, can also be considered as part of the identity of the English Landscape Garden.

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## Introduction

The garden in English culture and history has had a complex evolution, which culminated in The English Landscape Garden, whose development was on its prime during the eighteenth century. For this we should take in consideration the Enlightenment and one of its main features that is directly connected with the garden; Nature. Roy Porter asserted: “The key enlightenment concept was Nature. Deeply enigmatic, it is most easily approached in terms of its opposites. It was an affirmation of an objective and exalted external reality, created by God, repudiating the fallen, decaying cosmos by Calvinism” (Porter, 2001: 295). This passage alludes to the fact that the concept of Nature, is defined by what is not encompassed by the idea of the natural world created by God<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore this concept is deeply connected with rational thought, as Porter points out: “Orderly objective, rational, grand and majestic, Nature enshrined both norms and ideals” (Porter, 2001: 295). Thus it is only natural that the English Landscape Garden would develop during the time that such a concept was central to English authors and thinkers.

The English Landscape Garden, the most celebrated model during the eighteenth century, can then be defined by the description of John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis in the first lines of the *The Genius of The Place: The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820* (1988), an anthology of primary texts which has been of great usefulness for the present study:

The Typical English Landscape as generally visualized would consist of undulating grass that leads somewhere down to an irregularly shaped piece of water over which a bridge arches, of trees grouped casually, with cattle or deer about the slopes, and of houses and other buildings glimpsed in the middle of far distance. (Hunt & Willis, 1988: 1)

This is a description of an English Landscape Garden, more precisely of a painting of Croome Court by Richard Wilson. The gardener responsible for this garden was Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown, one of the most successful gardeners in England during

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<sup>1</sup> Anthony Ashley Cooper 3rd of Shaftesbury in *The Moralists* (1709) will praise nature and established a connection between Nature, Man and God. I will develop this idea further in the first chapter.

the second half of the eighteenth century. However, saying that Brown was the main responsible for the birth of the English Landscape Garden would be far from accurate. I would like to mention a second passage from the first lines of Hunt & Willis' work that indicates why the English Landscape Garden is not Brown's achievement alone:

Yet, despite much contemporary affirmation to the contrary, this style had not sprung fully armed from the heads of (say) William Kent and Alexander Pope; the landscape that Lancelot ('Capability') Brown created and Wilson recorded in 1758 was the culmination of much exploration and experiment over at least one hundred and fifty years. (Hunt & Willis, 1988: 1)

This passage, aside from explaining why Brown shouldn't be credited for all the style development, equally refers to the importance of experimentation in this style and how it developed almost across two centuries. This period of experimentation encompasses the early seventeenth century and extends to the early nineteenth century.

This being said, the English Landscape Garden style has a considerable vast and rich history. However, when this style is considered, its main emphasis is on the early-mid eighteenth century. During this period, the English elite will dedicate quite a few resources on their estates to develop the style until the 1750s, when Lancelot 'Capability' Brown would expand it throughout the English landscape at a rather fast pace.

This leads to one of the objectives on this dissertation: to demonstrate the variety and richness that were involved in the experimentation of this style from its early beginnings to Brown's appropriation of it. This variety has already been studied, so what I propose is a different approach on the subject, which is to question its identity; not only as an English model, which it certainly is, but also what other styles it might comprehend. For instance, the Chinese Garden influence will be explored, inquiring the possibility of the Chinese Gardens being a part of its identity. Therefore what does really constructs the identity of the English Landscape Garden? Is it the model and all the minor styles or influences in conjunction? Or simply its process of development that is truly unique?

The English Landscape Garden history as said before is vast, and the critical apparatus and essays of the period on its aesthetics, history, and social-political considerations are significant. Therefore, I will be focusing more on the most relevant aspects of its history with an occasional reference to the socio-political context. That

will be achieved through historians' critical works of the English Landscape garden, images of gardens and paintings and relevant works of the period.

The main body of this dissertation will be divided in three parts, the first and second part being dedicated to the history of the evolution of the English Landscape Garden and the third to an analysis of the derived styles and the Chinese Garden influence.

The first chapter, "The Early beginnings of the English garden" is centered on the history and aesthetics that construct the first stages towards the English Landscape Garden. This includes a general consideration of European gardens, namely the Italian and the French style that would influence the English garden during the seventeenth century, as well as principles of the formal style that were common to these two main influences. Then it will elaborate on the early seventeenth century texts and works previous to the English civil war that were influential during the progress of the garden in England. The chapter continues after the period of the English civil war with works that were prominent until the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century. The last part of the chapter will orbit around the first texts that will consider Nature as an aesthetic concept, of authors such as Joseph Addison, or Anthony Ashley Cooper 3<sup>d</sup> Earl of Shaftesbury, who will push forward the first ideas that will construct the English Landscape Garden. The chapter's objective is to describe the foundations of the English Landscape garden style.

The second chapter "From the Templed Arcadian Garden to the Brownian Landscape Garden" is a description of the evolution of the English Landscape Garden. This account consists of the first early gardens that were constructed roughly around the same period of time as the last essays of the previous chapter; the Templed Arcadias erected by the English elite, and the into Lancelot 'Capability' Brown landscape gardens such as Croome Court that I referred to previously in this introduction. Due to the amount of contributions to the development of this garden it was necessary to select which authors, gardeners and works to approach on this chapter. This being said, this chapter's first part will focus on the first gardens and developments to show a slight improvement towards the English Landscape Garden. Subsequent to these early gardens, the Italian Revival of Richard Boyle 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Burlington will take place, a result of which would be the association of Alexander Pope and William Kent, a crucial partnership for the development of the style. The chapter will then elaborate on William Kent's path as a gardener and how he rose to be one of the most prominent gardeners of

this period. After Kent's death in 1748, Lancelot 'Capability' Brown will emerge as the greatest gardener, in the second half of the century, implementing his own ideas on the style previously conceived. The objective of this chapter is to show the main figures of the development of the English Landscape Garden and how they made it flourish until the 1750s, when Lancelot 'Capability' Brown took over. This leads to the third and final chapter, which will focus on the minor styles that developed from the English Landscape process of evolution and the Chinese garden as a non-European influence.

The third Chapter "From Chinese to Picturesque – Influences and Style on the Margin of English Landscape Garden" is divided in three parts. The first part of the Chapter elaborates on the Chinese garden and its aesthetics and how it would be interpreted by English authors. Additionally, this chapter will focus on the uses of Chinese influence during the Rococo Garden period, and more precisely on William Chambers' work. The second part describes the *Ferme Ornée* style that aspired to join the functional farm and the garden. This style will unintentionally create a bridge between the Rococo Garden and the following part, the picturesque garden movement. The picturesque garden is the focus of this last part of this chapter and it is connected to the Brownian Landscape by means of opposition. The focal point of this last part will be on the different aesthetic principles of picturesque in direct contrast to Brown's garden. The objective of this chapter is to offer a view of these styles, which I defend that are also part of the English Landscape Garden, and an important part of its development that also constructs its identity.

## **I. The Early beginnings of the English garden**

### **I.1 European Garden Styles in the Seventeenth Century**

The aesthetic principles of the Renaissance were central to the development of the early European garden styles. Beforehand, it is essential to initially discuss Plato, as the Renaissance aesthetics are mainly neo-platonic, with special emphasis on the theory of forms and Mimesis. Plato's theory of forms make a distinction between particulars and universals: Particulars are the objects that compose the material world and the Universals are abstract ideas and notions that are not subject to change.

Plato reasoned since that since we know the visible world is composed only of particulars, and since we know that there are such things as universals, another world must exist which is composed only by universals He called universals 'forms' or 'ideas' and his theory his about their nature. (Turner, 1986: 20)

The forms or ideas can be rearranged by hierarchy, and the one that Plato considers to be the highest among the ideas is the idea of good. Mimesis, or imitation, which is a concept developed by Plato and later explored by Aristotle, stated that the world of forms is immutable, thus perfect, when compared to the real world. Therefore, art and artists should imitate these ideas and forms, instead of the real world. The main difference between Aristotle's and Plato's argument on Mimesis was that Plato believed that the forms and ideas existed in another perfect world different from the real one, while Aristotle dismissed this argument. However, Aristotle's agreement of the natural world is going to influence Christian art during the Middle Ages. As an example of the ordering of ideas, Turner points out:

Notre-Dame in Paris was arranged visually and structurally to show the hierarchical relationship between Damned, the Resurrected, the Apostles, the twelve Virtues, the Saints and the Wise and Foolish Virgins. (Turner, 1986: 20)

In this passage it is possible to see the representation of Nature in the Christian world, which orders the ideas on its own interpretations of Aristotle; the imagery was divided

from the superior idea of goodness to the lowest one. However, it would be Plato's ideas that would prevail in the Renaissance.

During the Italian Renaissance, the Platonic academy founded in 1439 by Lorenzo Medici recovered Plato's works and, as Turner says: "[f]rom this point onwards Plato had a direct influence on Renaissance art" (Turner, 1986: 22). It deeply affected the garden as a form of art as well. One of the most famous examples is Palladio (1518-1580) and his villas. Palladio used much of Plato's theory in his architecture, it "[w]as based on the circle, the square and principle of harmonic proposition, for Palladio believed them to represent the Forms of the Good, Justice and harmony" (Turner, 1986: 22-23). This idea is quite pertinent in his Villas. Villa Capra's (Appendix ChI-1) plan is the example of how the neo-platonic theory influenced his architectural input, as the design mainly consisted of regular squared forms and a central circular form, which were going to be reflected in the gardens and their styles.

I will explore the ones that are directly connected with the English Garden in terms of their design; The Italian, French and Dutch styles. What all these styles of garden have in common, is the formal regular design referred to above and the way they influenced each other while advancing towards the eighteenth century.

The Italian Garden owes a lot of its design to Palladio, given that rules of architectural design are the same for Villa and Garden because both follow Plato's theory. In the Italian style, the plant beds would have to be in circular or square form, always symmetrical, divided by axial walkways, while Fountains would be placed in symmetry as well, or on the opposite side of the Villa. Forest or lawn would be placed according to the dimension of the estate and topography, and Greco-Roman statuary was occasionally used and placed in symmetry as well. Some of these Villas had a formal arrangement of woodland as Villa Patrolino, (Appendix ChI-2) which exemplifies part of this style. Canals were also used in later sixteenth gardens, possibly due to French influence. The French style was highly influenced by the Italian style, the main difference perhaps being the parterre. Certainly French, the parterre is a way of bed planting that has its origins in the English knot gardens, which are usual square-shaped with a mix of plants and herbs carefully arranged and clipped in certain patterns and forms in a topiary manner. The French style developed this horticultural technique and refined it, introducing it to the Dutch and the Italian garden style subsequently. The Dutch style is very similar to the French, but is more focused on the horticultural process and has a significant difference in size:

The aesthetic ideas which produced Vaux-le-Vicomte and Versailles, when interpreted in Holland with Dutch horticultural expertise, led to an emphasis on immaculate parterres and topiary. (...)Avenues, valued in Holland for aesthetic reasons, could not be created on a French scale by clearing vistas through ancient hunting forests, and were often no more than lines of newly planted trees extending through agricultural land. (Turner, 1986: 55)

As a result of being small in size, the Dutch garden would focus more on the topiary than the French as a matter of emphasis. These are the main aspects of the European gardens and aesthetics that are going to influence to a certain extent the early seventeenth English Garden.

## **1.2 The English Garden of the Early Seventeenth Century**

Most of the gardens in England did not survive the civil war. Nonetheless, some significant contributions were made during the early seventeenth century, mainly through paintings, records, and some theoretical essays, which give some insight into the aspects of the early eighteenth century garden in England.

A large amount of these gardens were influenced by the Italian and French garden designs, which were related to classicism and formal garden. While it is possible to discern some variety, these gardens still use the enclosed style, namely a style that each part of the garden is isolated from the others, but still functions as part of a whole. Roy Strong highlights:

Essentially it remains, however, the old *hortus conclusus*. It is a walled enclosure within which nature tamed by art is made to fulfill the wildest mannerist fantasies, above all by means of the new hydraulics.” (Strong in Turner, 1986: 44)

The Wilton Garden was a typical example (Appendix ChI-3). It was lost in 1647 due to a fire, but paintings and records of it have survived. This garden is an intriguing example of an enclosed garden, involving both French and Italian elements. An axial walk divided the formal garden in two equal parts, adding to the symmetry, with parterres on each side of the walk. Two fountains occupied each of those halves, and further ahead, an oval symmetric scene was featured. The garden design was attributed to Isaac de Caus. One of the most fascinating parts of this garden was the masque



*Shepherd's Paradise*, a design by Inigo Jones that was a copy of the “*Parterre du Palais de Nancy*” by Jacques Callot, which depicted the gardens of St Germain-en-laye. The *Shepherd's Paradise* attracted a lot of attention, as the historian Timothy Mowl affirms:

The scheme aroused such interest that, for the first time in English garden history, a book was planned to celebrate its construction. There were to be English and French editions with alternative titles, *Wilton Garden* and *Le jardin de Nulton*, and it was to be lavishly illustrated. (Mowl, 2000: 6)

The published book was perhaps one of the most significant features given that Wilton Garden was one of the first English gardens to be depicted on paper. It still stands as one of the most famous gardens in England in the early seventeenth century and it demonstrates the formal style used at the time. Had Francis Bacon, one of the first theorists of gardens in England, come in contact with the Wilton Garden, he would have found it quite pleasant: “Some contemporary equivalent of Bacon’s taste in gardens might be the Wilton House (Plate 43), laid out in the 1630s”(Hunt & Willis, 1988: 51).

Bacon’s first sentence in the essay “Of Gardens”, published in 1625, established the idea that the garden is of utmost importance for the satisfaction of human nature: “GOD *almightie* first planted a *Garden*. And indeed, it is the purest of Humane pleasures”(Bacon in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 51). This was a very focal idea in the development of the garden, especially if we take into account that it will reverberate throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In his essay, Bacon shows a great knowledge of horticultural processes; that becomes apparent in the first part of the essay, where he describes a variety of plants, flowers, and in which months it would be more suitable to plant them or to present them in the garden:

In *May*, and *June*, come Pincks of all sorts, Specially the Blush Pincke; Roses of all kinds, except the muske, which comes later; Hony-Suckles, Strawberries, Buglosse; Columbine... (Bacon in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 52)

In the second part of the essay, Bacon explained, according to his beliefs, the ideal division of the garden and the disposition of the elements. In some parts of this ordering, he defended a more natural approach to the creative process of gardens: “For the heath, which was the third part of our Plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to Natural Wildernesse” (Bacon in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 55). However, it is quite clear that Bacon’s inclinations were, overall, quite formal. Additionally, when Bacon discussed his ordering of the garden he divided it in three parts just like the Wilton

Garden. If the Wilton Garden could be viewed as a sort of model for Bacon, his vision of a garden is deeply connected with the enclosed style, and the French and Italian inclinations. What differentiates Bacon's essay from the records of the Wilton Garden or any other description of a garden is the use of the word 'pleasure'. Bacon defines two types of pleasure deriving from the Garden:

The Greene hath two pleasures; the one, because nothing is more Pleasant to the Eye, then Greene Grasse kept finely shorne; The other, because it will give you a faire Alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a *Statelie Hedge*, which is to inclose the *Garden*. (Bacon in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 53)

Looking at this extract, we can identify two aspects of pleasure; the first one is connected to the satisfaction that the garden can trigger in the mind, and the second refers to the pleasant sensation of orderly nature. This idea of pleasure created by the orderly disposition of nature will become central to the English garden in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Just like Bacon seemed to be in favor of the wilderness in the garden in his essay, Henry Wotton further developed this aspect, and defended irregularity in the garden. Wotton started his essay, "Elements of Architecture" (1624), with a distinction between Buildings and Gardens: "For as Fabriques should bee *regular*, so Gardens should be *irregular*, or at least cast into a wilde *Regularitie*" (Wotton in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 48). While he expected buildings to be built in an orderly manner, he defended irregularity when it comes to the garden. This irregularity is for the sake of diversity in the garden, and not a defense of the asymmetrical style, therefore creating a certain element of surprise among parts of the garden while walking from scene to scene. This idea bears a resemblance to the concept of pleasure and experience of the garden by Bacon. "He is certainly influenced here by the example of Italians gardens experience while ambassador of Venice" (Hunt & Willis, 1988: 48). This leads to a similar ordering of the garden as the one by Bacon. Nonetheless, irregularity, wilderness and pleasure are going to prove essential on the ideas brought in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century; ideas that could have evolved during this period, if it was not for the civil war. The post war period allowed people to envision gardens again. However, it was not the idea of the English Garden yet, due to the agitated political life that England was going through at the time. The first years of the restoration were of French influence, due to the fact that Charles II was brought up in France, where he

acquired a generally French taste, in the topic of gardens included, thus sending back the English Garden to the formal and symmetrical style of the early seventeenth century. Interestingly enough, with the Glorious Revolution in 1688, there were great expectations that garden taste would change, but perhaps it was quite the opposite, as Mowl points out:

In the Glorious revolution to expel the Catholic Stuarts and bring in the Protestant William of Orange as a seal upon the liberties and rights of the Parliament, they found the new King William, being Dutch, was far more devoted to formal gardens, to an endless parade of choice of 'greens' and disciplined parterres, to French fashions in horticulture, than King Charles had ever been. The appropriate classical garden of republican liberty would have to wait for 1715 and Parliament's more apparent control over the Hanoverian Kings. (Mowl, 2000: 48)

This being said, the English Garden with a more natural and irregular approach was forfeit, giving place to formal French and Dutch gardens. While it does not seem to contribute to the progress of the English garden, it is impossible to overlook George London and Henry Wise, as well as John Evelyn to a certain degree on the establishment of the French taste in England during this period.

Evelyn was certainly one of the most important figures of the restoration period. Although he did not have clear inclinations towards the French style, he envisions a garden that follows the lines of a formal garden, while defending diversity just like Henry Wotton. Evelyn's gardens are those of French-Dutch formalism, which added the French forest design of Le Nôtre: "In his own mind and by his own activities Evelyn was moving estate design on from dated enthusiasm for hydraulic toys to the layout of trees extending far beyond the mere bounds of garden" (Mowl, 2000: 45). Sayes Court (Appendix ChI-4) is an example of the kind of garden Evelyn develops. The long tree avenue is reminiscence of one of his biggest works, *Sylva, or A Discourse of Forest-Trees and the Propagation of Timber* (1662) which was a practical book on gardening with emphasis on tree planting; with three reprints, it proved quite successful. However, his last work entitled 'Elysium Britannicum' (1699), which was meant to be an encyclopedia, was never finished and was published posthumously. Although Evelyn did not contribute directly to the development of the English garden, his works were quite valuable, considering that they are among the first on gardening after the civil war. Evelyn also translated *The Compleat Gard'ner* by De La Quintinie, which was abridged

and adapted by George London and Henry Wise into *The Retir'd Garden* (1699), one of the first books by these two gardeners.

The book itself deals with specific horticultural procedures and some particularities of practical design of the French garden style. Other than that, the most interesting aspect of these two gardeners is how they shaped the gardens of England on scale almost only comparable to Lancelot 'Capability' Brown. Stephen Switzer said the following about London:

It will perhaps be hardly believed, in Time to come, that this only person actually saw and gave Directions, once or twice a Year, in most of the Noblemens and Gentlemens Gardens in *England*. And since was common for him to ride 50 or 60 Miles in a Day (...) conversing with Gentlemen and forwarding the business of *Gard'ning* in such degree as it is almost impossible to describe. (Switzer in Mowl, 2000: 50)

London was a businessman like no other; the garden commerce started to be a profitable business for him, and was followed by Wise after his death. Wise was appointed head gardener during Queen Anne's reign. One of the most known gardens accomplished was Chatsworth. Chatsworth is perhaps one of the best examples of the French garden style in England during the late seventeenth century. The estate presented most of the characteristics of the French style, with emphasis on the parterres. However, the most curious aspect of this garden and all the others executed by London and Wise is going to be the influence on authors of the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century; creating a general inclination towards a more natural garden.

### **I.3 The Early Eighteenth Century English Garden**

The garden in England was about to go through great changes after Queen Anne's reign. George I, the successor, was not as interested in gardens as his predecessors, William and Anne. During his reign, therefore, the development of the gardens is going to be mainly undertaken by noblemen, especially Whigs. This will change the way garden is perceived: "The year of 1714 and the smoothly handled accession of the Hanoverian George I to the throne marked the end of the Whig party's political uncertainties" (Mowl, 2000: 81). Since 1688, The Whig party had sought to

constrain royal power to avoid an absolutist monarch, an objective that they would truly accomplish with the rise of George I to power. After succeeding in their political objective, the Whig party wanted to distance themselves and the monarch and consequently from tyrannical power: “the Whig watchword was liberty” (Mowl, 2000: 80). When it came to gardens, we can see the influence of this principle; the Whigs were not so fond of the opulent French style or the rigid Dutch style that actually derived from the French. Thus, the Whigs wanted a different garden style, one that could be free from French formalism and its constraints. Consequently, John Milton and the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Shaftesbury were chosen as the authors that would foster this kind of liberty: “They had a party philosopher in Shaftesbury and a party poet in Milton” (Mowl, 81: 2000).

Although Milton generally did not have a direct influence on the aesthetics or style of gardening, his description of the Garden of Eden in *Paradise Lost* (1667) will have a great influence on the ideals sought. Milton’s Eden is quite rich in its portrayal: “Of goodliest Trees loaden with the Fairest Fruit,/Blossoms and Fruits at once Golden Hue/Appeerd, with gay enameld colours mixt:/On which the Sun more glad impress’d his beams” (Milton in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 80).

This was probably one of the greatest problems for the gardeners of the time, namely, trying to match the poetic description of the heavenly garden with the English landscape reality, and bring it to the English garden. While *Paradise Lost* (1667) will send the gardeners into a frenzy trying to imitate in a way the heavenly description of Milton, one thing was certain; Milton’s garden was one dedicated to nature: “Walpole was to agree that topiary was unworthy of God’s first garden” (Hunt & Willis, 1988: 79). There was no reference to any influential style or aesthetics in his description, though he might have been influenced: “Milton may possibly be recalling certain features seen on his Italian journey, which are invoked explicitly in *Paradise Regained IV*” (Hunt & Willis, 1988: 79).

Shaftesbury was also influential at the time with his essays such as *The Moralists* (1709), which later would become part of *Characteristics of Men, Manners, and Opinions, Times* (1711). These essays and volumes cover a variety of subjects, but I will focus only on what is related to the garden. Shaftesbury eulogized nature in his work:

“Ye Fields and Woods, my Refuge from toilsome World of Business, “receive me in your quiet Sanctuaries, and favour my Retreat and thoughtful “Solitude.-Ye verdant Plains, how gladly, I salute ye (Shaftesbury in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 122)

This praise of nature is constant, though it might also make references to other aspects; in this passage there are references to solitude and refuge, alluding to the rural retirement as a way of contemplating not only nature but also the inner self, as he says: “[s]earch his own and other Natures” (Shaftesbury in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 122). Shaftesbury also built a link between nature and art, with nature being superior to all forms of art: “[i]s a nobler Spectacle than all that art ever presented – O mighty Nature” (Shaftesbury in Hunt & Willis, 1988:122). This comparison, inherited from the classics, will be central on the dialogue between art and nature; it will question how art should perceive nature and how nature should be perceived in its whole. This defense of nature, alongside his scorns towards the French constraints, may lead to the portrayal of Shaftesbury as a precursor of the English style:

[w]ith all those Symmetrys which silently express a reigning *Order, Peace, Harmony, Beauty!* – But what is there answerable to this, in the MINDS of the *Possessors?* – What *Possession* or Property is theirs? What *Constancy* or *Security* or *Enjoyment?* What *Peace*, what *Harmony* WITHIN? (Shaftesbury in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 124)

This criticism seems to provide a further assertion of Shaftesbury’s position as a herald of the new style. However, this can be quite misleading:

Misread, Shaftesbury was Hailed as a proponent of the new gardening (...) we must understand Shaftesbury’s claims for nature in the light of his whole theory of ‘character’: only through the concrete figurations of formal gardens can man apprehend the unfathomable forms or characters in untouched nature which declare their creator. (Hunt & Willis, 1988: 122)

Indeed, Shaftesbury did not criticize the formal garden itself; nor does he intentionally identify it in the type of garden he praises. His main focus was not in the style but rather the presentation of the garden, stressing the fact that these gardens lack the vibrant nature that he depicts. They are silent and possibly oppressed, while Shaftesbury at the same time questions whether the owners of those gardens can actually call the nature within the garden their own. Thus, Shaftesbury implied that Nature is from Divine origin, worth of praise and admiration and far above Man. Though Shaftesbury’s writings presented themselves as advocates of nature, his *Letter Concerning Design* (1732) dismisses much of what was his earlier work and practically kept the garden

design within the formal restriction of previous style and ideal. However, the eulogy to nature will be picked by later authors, such as Joseph Addison.

Addison was possibly the writer that most contributed to the so-called English Landscape Garden during his time, with his papers in *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* and his essay *Pleasures of Imagination*. Addison's paper in *The Tatler* no.161 describes a dream where he comes across a stunning scene:

I was wonderfully astonished at the Discovery of such Paradise amidst the Wildness of those olds, hoary Landskips which lay about it; but found at length, that this happy Region was inhabited by the Goddess of Liberty; whose Presence softened the Rigours of the Climate, enriched the Barrenness of the Soil, and more than supplied the Absence of the Sun. The Place was covered with a wonderful Profusion of Flowers that, without being disposed into regular Borders and Parterres, grew promiscuously, and had a greater Beauty in their natural Luxuriancy and Disorder, than they could have received from the Checks and Restraints of Art. (Addison in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 140)

In this passage Addison's descriptions of the scenery point out two main features. Firstly, the reference to the Goddess of Liberty seems to be a political contrast that Addison establishes between English liberty and French opulence and tyranny. The second is similar to Shaftesbury's claims, of nature being superior to the works of art. Addison will develop this idea in *The Spectator* no. 414, across subsequent numbers, and also in *Pleasures of Imagination*. These pleasures are distinguished in two types:

[O]ur Pleasures rises from a double Principle; from the Agreeable of the Objects to the Eye, and from their similitude to other objects: We are pleased as well with comparing their Beauties, as with surveying them, and can represent them to our minds, either Copies or Originals. (Addison in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 141)

Addison's division could be considered in primary and secondary pleasures, the first being the result of the sensorial aspect of the experience of beauty and the second being the pleasures of the mind that, working with imagination, would connect or create other realities that would please the individual mind. Addison elaborates more on the imagination process taking place within the mind of an individual. He emphasizes the capacity to discern the ideas that are pleasant to the mind and those that should be dismissed in favor of the former ones. Addison says: "If we consider Works of *Nature* and *Art*, as they are qualified to entertain Imagination, we shall find the last very defective, in Comparison to the former;" (Addison in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 141)

recurring the dichotomy between Art and Nature presented in *The Tatler* favoring Nature. When Addison addressed the topic of gardens, he clearly criticized the topiary that was so typical of the Dutch style used in England. That was not only due to the gardeners of William III, but also an overall tendency to this style:

Our *British* Gardeners on the contrary, instead of humoring Nature, love to deviate from it as much as possible. Our Trees rise in Cones, Globes and Pyramids. We see the Marks of the Scissars upon every Plant and Bush. I do not know whether I am singular in my opinion, but, for my own part, I would rather look upon a Tree in all its Luxuriancy and Diffusion of Boughs and Branches, than when it is thus cut and trimmed into a Mathematical Figure; (Addison in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 143)

Addison defended a more natural approach that he developed in his essay. At the same time, however, he presents Italian and French gardens as examples:

“It is therefore perhaps odd that he champions French and Italian gardens: the reasons are probably their freedom from niceties of Dutch design, which dominated England and their scale which admitted more variety and ‘artificial Rudeness’ ” (Addison in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 138)

This kind of diversity in Addison’s opinion was very similar to the same controversial standpoint of Shaftesbury’s first works and the later, *Letter Concerning Design* (1732), where Shaftesbury explains his conceptual garden. They both rise against the excessive art of the Dutch style, constructing the idea that the garden should contain wilderness. However, they struggle between their own conceptual idea of the garden and the practical design that they view as an agreeable garden. Despite this, Addison will prove to be one of the most influential writers on gardens in the early eighteenth century, possibly more than Shaftesbury, even though Addison was actually influenced by him. While Shaftesbury’s work has influenced the elite to a certain extent, Addison with *The Spectator* reached a wider public, because it was a work that became more widely available. Besides all this diversity, in n°477 of *The Spectator*, Addison wrote in the form of a letter allegedly sent by one of the readers of *The Spectator*, some aspects concerning gardening and the essay on the *Pleasures of Imagination*. In this letter, Addison went back to the same idea already present in his previous essays: “There is some Irregularity in my Plantations, which run into as great Wildness as their Natures permit” (Addison in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 145). Apart from focusing on these same aspects he proposed an odd garden: “[a] Confusion of Kitchin and Parterre, Orchard and



Flower garden” (Addison in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 145) one that was not easy to identify, as it features some of the wildness but also some other singularities, such as the emphasis on the flowers, which Addison seems to be fond of in this letter. Addison continued the description of this garden and uses natural imagery:

As my garden invites into it all the Birds of the Country, by offering them the Conveniency of Spring and Shades, solitude and shelter, I do not suffer any one to destroy their Nests in the Spring, or drive them from their usual Haunts in Fruit-Time. (Addison in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 146)

This passage along with some other parts of the text resemble Francis Bacon’s description of the garden, as it is focusing on elements such as trees and flowers but less on the horticultural process. Addison finishes the letter in a very similar tone to which Bacon starts his essay *of gardens*:

I look upon the Pleasure which we take in a Garden, as one of the most innocent Delights in humane Life. A Garden was the Habitation of our first Parents before the Fall. It is naturally apt to fill the mid with calmness and tranquility... (Addison in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 147)

Here we can see some similarities when it comes to the divine nature of Garden and the Fall of Men; this idea is clearly influenced by Shaftesbury. Addison also refers to London and Wise and a small part of Kensington gardens, which Addison claims to be just a gravel-pit and one of their best works. Whether Addison is being ironic or not in his account is unknown. In any case, he seems to remain faithful to his convictions of appreciating nature at its fullest when it is simpler.

Addison’s influence on gardening through *The Spectator* has already been discussed, but we should also mention his influence on Stephen Switzer, as Mowl says:

While there was, so far as is known, never any social contact between Addison and Switzer, the intellectual connection was strong. In his 1718 *Iconographia Rustica*, Switzer quotes whole pages of Addison’s essay word by word, enthusiastically acknowledging his inspiration. It is indeed difficult to find any ideas or novel approaches to garden in Switzer which he has not drawn directly from Addison’s light-hearted journalistic excursions. Addison throws off an idea; Switzer suggests its practical application (Mowl, 2000: 82)

Switzer is known better for his work *Ichnographia Rustica* (1718). In these essays, Switzer drew a lot of attention to the aesthetics in the gardens and horticultural

processes. Again, it is important to stress that Addison's influence is perhaps the cause of so much emphasis on nature, and the concept of nature remaining untouched: "Again why should we be at that great Expence of Levelling of Hills, or, Filling up of Dales, when they are the Beauty of Nature? (...) And if we have not such by Nature, to create them by Art" (Switzer in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 153). Although these ideas are almost the same, as Addison pointed out, Switzer's innovation was in the practical design of the garden, such as the design presented on *Ichnographia Rustica* (Appendix ChI-5). This design is one of the first to use the irregular walkways and what Turner calls the 'forest style':

Switzer believed that his style was more economical. He thought more money should be spent on forest planting and that it should be obtained by reducing the size of parterres or laying them to grass. (Turner, 1986: 75)

This explains the heavy tree lines along the walkways and also the middle section tree planting, which seems to be an effort to imitate wild woodland, as it was something more natural than the parterres. Nevertheless, the formal axial walkways are still present in this garden design. Switzer suffered from the same problem in the design as authors like Addison and Shaftesbury in their essays; the struggle between the formal design and natural design. Switzer could have been more influential had it not been for his disdain for the Arcadian temples:

The whole great lozenge of grounds (...) is encircled by a perimeter walk twisting and bending (...) This was advice which would shortly be followed by Lord Burlington at Chiswick, though he would not show interest in Switzer's cornfields, as Switzer showed not the slightest interest in temples and eclectic garden buildings. (Mowl, 2000: 86)

Although his designs were dismissed by Lord Burlington, Switzer will be the pioneer of a later style of French origin developed in England: the *Fermé Orneé*, which roughly translates to 'ornamented farm'. Switzer is one of the earliest authors to refer to this style: "This taste so truly useful and delightful as it is (...) under the title of La Fermé Orneé. And that *Great-Britain* is now likely to excel in it..." (Switzer in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 162). He was the one that made it possible for this style to develop in the mid seventeenth century through his *Ichnographia Rustica* and his description of the rural garden design.

## **II. From the Templed Arcadian Garden to the Brownian English Landscape Garden**

In the previous chapter, I referred to Switzer as one of the gardeners that contributed to the development of the garden and particularly of the English Landscape Garden. His contribution was not as extensive as one might expect because of his disdain towards Arcadian temples in the garden, which were made famous by Lord Burlington Italian Revival at Chiswick, Lord Cobham Arcadian temple garden at Stowe and John Vanbrugh at Castle Howard.

### **II.1 Castle Howard and Vanbrugh's Temples and Charles Bridgeman Layouts**

One of the figures that should be discussed in relation to the English Landscape Garden is John Vanbrugh. Vanbrugh was not an architect to begin with; he was an army officer in his early years and worked for the East India Company as well. This background would account, to a certain extent, for the way his ideas were shaped, particularly about aesthetics and military building designs. Interestingly, after his arrival in London, Vanbrugh became a comedy writer and was quite known in clubs, such as the Kit-Kat club. The Kit-Kat club was a political Whig club that joined several figures like Lord Burlington, Joseph Addison, Lord Cobham and others; people who had a direct influence on the evolution of the English Landscape garden:

Both Carlisle and Vanbrugh were members of the Kit-Cat Club, that mysterious and disingenuously powerful group of Whig politicians and writers formed in the 1680s to support a Protestant succession to the throne, which boasted members ranging from grandees such as Prime Minister Walpole himself to literary types including Joseph Addison, Richard Steele (Addison co-editor on the *Spectator*) and the playwright William Congreve. (Richardson, 2007: Ch 5, paragraph 5)

It is through this Club that Vanbrugh receives his first commission from Charles Howard 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Carlisle, Castle Howard. This estate was considered to be one of the earliest English landscape gardens, if one considers the east part of the castle, the Wray wood. Vanbrugh decided that this part, Wray wood, was to be enclosed with the use of

ah-ah wall, but what the historian Timothy Mowl calls attention to, is how the Wray Wood is different from the other forest gardens: “Wray wood was there already, a mature tract of beech trees. Its importance was not that it was planted, but that it was preserved and appreciated” (Mowl, 2000: 64). All other forest gardens of the time were symmetric, whereas this one follows the lines of Switzer’s aesthetic serpentine design. Apart from the design of the castle and the preservation of Wray wood, Vanbrugh designed the Temple of Four Winds, which would be completed after his death by Nicholas Hawksmoor. The latter would maintain the main ideas and design that Vanbrugh had proposed. The temple was ready in the years 1728-31. This was not the only work by Vanbrugh that would be completed after his death; many designs had a similar story. Consequently, his own direct influence through his temples on the Italian revival of Lord Burlington at Chiswick was only partial.

Vanbrugh was also commissioned by the Duke of Marlborough the gatehouse designs, which were the most famous part of Blenheim, although the feud between him and the duchess of Marlborough about the old manor of Woodstock seems to have gained much more popularity. The Manor was located near the Blenheim palace, which he inhabited, until he was forbidden to enter Blenheim again by the Duchess. The main reason for the conflict seems to have been that Vanbrugh wanted to preserve the Manor and to include it in the design of the whole garden, while the duchess wanted to demolish it. In the paper named *‘Reasons Offer’d for Preserving some Part of the Old Manor’ at Blenheim (1709)* Vanbrugh provided his argumentation on why it should be preserved. The most interesting argument had to do with his perception of the Manor in relation to the rest of the garden: “These rightly dispos’d will indeed Supply all the wants of Nature in that place (...) it wou’d make One of Most Agreeable Objects that the best of Landskip Painters can invent” (Vanbrugh in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 120). This view of the Manor is similar to the one of the English Landscape Garden, with an inclination to the later style of the picturesque garden. However, Vanbrugh did not have any picturesque inclinations consciously, and his use of irregularity and wilderness was not consistent. That is the case of Eastbury House, Dorset, which Mowl describes as a formal design:

Their layout was rigidly axial, a complex lozenge of largely symmetrical cypress lawns and six geometrically sliced woodlands. In the centre was a rectangular basin with a two-stoeryed Ionic Bagnio or bathing pavilion, virtually a villa in its own right. (Mowl, 2000:71)

Vanbrugh worked with Charles Bridgeman in this garden without any indication from their patron, which resulted in a garden that followed the lines of London and Wise formal style. Vanbrugh and Bridgeman were then commissioned by Richard Temple, 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount of Cobham at Stowe. Stowe could be considered as the laboratory for the English Landscape Garden thanks to its constant change and evolution; I will therefore return to Stowe later. In Stowe, Vanbrugh continued designing his temples, which Cobham was quite fond of, as Mowl says: “It cannot be a mere amusing coincidence that the surname of the family who first coaxed the templated Arcadia into mature existence was ‘Temple’. The multiplication of such classical garden buildings was Cobham’s pride and joke” (Mowl, 2000: 74-75). Although the number of temples could be considered as excessive, Mowl stresses their quality, and more specifically the Rotunda: “Vanbrugh’s Rotunda is still authoritative, though altered” (Mowl, 2000: 75). In Stowe, recovers those past ideas practiced in Castle Howard. Credit must be given to Cobham and his guidance, which also affected Vanbrugh’s partner Charles Bridgeman.

Bridgeman worked under Wise’s supervision, whose death in 1728 led to Bridgeman’s appointment as royal gardener. Bridgeman didn’t have an affinity with any style, though it could be described as quite formal. The garden at Dorset with Vanbrugh came to prove this point, as it was a garden that they had no direction from the patron and followed their own ideals. However, under the supervision of Lord Carlisle and Lord Cobham, Bridgeman practiced a more informal style. Bridgeman’s lack of a particular style makes him an odd character, unlike Switzer for example, who had shaped a very clear-cut opinion about the aesthetics of the garden. This almost neutral stance that Bridgeman had adopted, granted him, in a very practical way, several commissions in the English garden, and his work and expertise were highly praised. Therefore, he became highly important in the transition of the English Garden:

Because Bridgeman’s work was a combination of formal features and Landscape-garden atmospheres within an exceptionally well-planned structure, he has come to be regarded as the archetypal ‘transitional designer’ – neither one thing nor the other – and his reputation suffered dreadfully as a result (Richardson, 2007: Ch 6, paragraph 17)

Despite this blow to his reputation, Bridgeman worked in most of the templated Arcadias, such as the Chiswick garden Italian revival by Lord Burlington and Twickenham under Alexander Pope’s supervision. However, his work would always be improved by others;

in the case of these two in particular, the changes would be made by William Kent. So it becomes quite apparent that, as a result of his moderate inclinations, most of his work would undergo some kind of improvement by other gardeners.

## **II.2 Lord Burlington's Italian Revival and William Kent's Patronage**

Richard Boyle, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Cork and 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Burlington, is the main responsible for the revival of the Italian style, or 'Palladianism' in England, as well as for its evolution into the English landscape garden. Lord Burlington was one of the most important patrons of the English Landscape Garden; he was the patron of William Kent, Alexander Pope, and he was responsible for the partnership that developed later between them. Burlington's first contact with the Italian garden was in his Grand Tour, about which Mowl says: "Burlington had visited Rome on his standard Grand Tour of 1714-15, but for three of the four months which he spent in the city he was dangerously ill in bed." (Mowl, 2000: 108). What he might have seen in Rome did not influence him enough to commence the Palladian revival; Colen Campbell was responsible for Lord Burlington's Palladian taste. Campbell was hired by Lord Burlington after his grand tour to construct a new entrance for the Burlington House in London. Burlington wanted to detach himself from the ideas of his mother, Countess Juliana, who had baroque inclinations. Those were quite far from the classicism that Burlington was so fond of. Campbell was not an architect: "Little is known about his early architectural training, probably because he kept discreetly quiet about his limitations. He had studied law at Edinburgh and actually practiced as a lawyer" (Mowl, 2007: 80). Despite that fact, he had a great influence on Lord Burlington. Not only was Campbell commissioned by him, he was also indoctrinating Burlington in his Palladianism, infused with certain ideas from a Scottish architect, James Smith, that had built some classic houses in Glasgow. However, that work couldn't be described as Palladianism nor as the style of Campbell, as Mowl explains:

Smith's style and his influence, via Campbell, on England's revived Palladianism needs to be emphasized as it was from Smith that a plain, correct regularity, so remote from Palladio's lively invention, settled like a stylistic blight upon many

eighteen-century English Houses, which claim to be Palladian but are in reality mere classic boxes, built on the cheap and devoid of imagination. (Mowl, 2007: 80)

Though Mowl stresses the problem of this false Palladianism, Burlington was in fact more interested in the Ancient Roman antique style: “For him Palladio was merely a route towards authentic Antique Roman-Book 4 of Palladio’s *Quattro Libri*, ‘Antient Temples’, was Burlington’s bible, not book 2 with sixteenth-century villas of Veneto” (Mowl, 2000: 109). Burlington, with this combined vision of Campbell’s Palladianism and Roman antiquity, set off on his second voyage to Italy in 1719. During this visit, Burlington met Kent, although this might not have been the first time they met, as Mowl points out: “[t]heir later meeting at Genoa in 1719 on Burlington’s second Italian tour seems suspiciously contrived” (Mowl: 2000, 108). Regardless of the accuracy of their first meeting, from this moment on Burlington would patronage Kent and befriend him for the next years until Kent’s death in 1748.

Kent was born in Bridlington, and the possible aesthetic influence of his birthplace must be noted:

[t]he strong aesthetic conditioning that the place must have exerted on him. It looks, on a map, like a small seaport, halfway between much larger Hull and more historic Scarborough, just south of the chalk cliffs of Flamborough Head on the East Riding Coast of Yorkshire. (Mowl, 2007: 1)

Bridlington’s gothic scenery and Kent’s upbringing in such a place could and probably had a big impact on his conception of aesthetics later in his gardening career. Kent’s main training involved painting, or at least that’s how he was presented to his first patron, John Talman; as a painter. Kent’s skills in painting are only matched by his skills of adjusting himself to any situation:

The Greatness of Kent – and sometimes he was going to be truly great as well as truly inferior – lay in his sponge-like ability to play protestant and catholic, to accord closely with a would be Palladian, Lord Burlington, so soon after learning from a would-be Baroque, Talman. (Mowl, 2007: 26)

Adaptability was a key strategy for Kent and it paid off, mainly through his revenues with Talman. He constantly changed Patrons as he saw fit, until Burlington’s patronage, to whom he was dedicated as much as he could. Though he never left Burlington’s patronage, he was commissioned for several works outside of it. These early years are essentially marked by Kent’s cunning attitude of gaining as much influence as possible

among lords and highly positioned people and thus enlarging his list of connections. Back in England he was no different, though more careful in exerting his power of persuasion around Burlington's patronage. After their meeting in Genoa, Burlington continued his search for Palladian drawings and Kent traveled to Paris. Back in England, Richmond Lodge, an area on the riverbank of Thames, was at that period a highly fashionable place among the elite of English society. It was at that place that its owner, Princess Caroline<sup>2</sup>, convoked a garden conference: "This was the time when England could so easily have gone Rococo like France" (Mowl, 2007: 125). The garden conference of the princess was joined by the elite of English society; among them was Alexander Pope that had just moved to Twickenham. In a letter to Lord Bathurst, Pope gives some details about the garden conference, providing his own criticism on the matter:

That this Letter may be all of a piece, I'll fill the rest with an account of a consultation lately held in my neighborhood, about designing a princely garden. Several Criticks were of several opinions: one declared he would not have too much Art in it; for my notion (said he) of gardening is, that it is only sweeping Nature: Another told them that Gravel Walks were not of good taste, for all of the finest abroad were loose sand: A third advis'd peremptorily there should not be one lyme – tree in the whole plantation; a fourth made the same exclusive clause extend to Horse-chestnuts, which he affirm'd not to be Trees, but Weeds; Dutch Helms were condemn'd by a fifth; and thus half of the trees were proscrib'd, contrary to the Paradise of God's own planting, which is expressly said to be planted with all trees. (Pope in Richardson, 2007: Ch 14 , paragraph , 14)

Pope's description shows that the conference was quite diverse, allowing divergent ideas to be expressed. Pope also commented on the way the other critics forgot nature, restricting it to some trees and plants for no good reason, while on the contrary, God's garden has them all. It is a quite illuminating remark, as it becomes a trace of Pope's influential view, which would later influence garden design. Pope would naturally retell what happened at the conference later in the year, when Kent and Burlington arrived to England. This garden conference triggered what would be the neo-classical style that Burlington would try to master in the following years:

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<sup>2</sup> Caroline of Ansbach, Princess Wales joined her husband the Prince of Wales in exile, after a political disagreement between him and his father King George I which culminated in the expelling of the Prince from St. James palace. They settled in a house in Leicester but they would move later to Richmond Lodge on the margins of the Thames.



Burlington had, before he left for Italy, laid out an old-fashioned garden behind the old house at Chiswick at exactly the wrong time for such tired formalism. He and Kent would need to act fast if they hoped to be leaders in garden fashion. (Mowl, 2007: 126)

One of Burlington's problems by then was the lack of focus; his influence ranged from Antique Roman to Palladianism and Campbell's Palladianism. Although Kent was almost absent due to Campbell's influence over Burlington, he would counterattack by convincing Burlington to turn down a drawing of a castle that looked like a Palladian building which Campbell had built for the Earl of Westmorland at Mereworth. Despite the fact that the Villa at Chiswick would maintain a Palladian design, Kent's presence was noticeable through the small achievements he will be able to make in garden. In the meantime, at Richmond Lodge, Princess Caroline's focus was not the house but the garden, promoting a natural design:

The Royal emphasis was focusing on gardens, not buildings, and on semi-natural gardens, wildernesses of winding paths, and Tree-lined terrace overlooking, not a straight canal, but a big, natural river. (Mowl, 2007: 132).

Burlington spent those years studying the Palladian and antique Roman buildings, and therefore his knowledge of gardens continued to be limited within the old formal gardens. The eagerness of Burlington to revive the antique Roman style led him to the commission of Robert Castell, a friend, to translate the letters of Pliny the Younger. This translation would later be published as *The Villas of the Ancient Illustrated* in 1728. Pliny's letters had a description of two Roman villas, Laurentium and Tuscum, which, at first sight, seem to be what Burlington was trying to achieve. The problem perhaps with Castell's translation of Pliny's letters is that they were not exactly what Burlington had envisioned, especially the Laurentium Villa:

Pliny's Laurentium was extraordinarily sophisticated complex; its single-storey rooms were adjusted with no concern for any kind of symmetry, to take advantage of particular prevailing winds, sea views full sunlight and cooling shades. (Mowl, 2000: 111)

Burlington dismissed Castell's description of Laurentium and favored Tuscum, which had a more formal design. So much of what would be done in Chiswick was Burlington's own interpretation of Castell's translations: "While his Villa was being built he gave the garden some token Pliniesque features: two small rectangular basins

with apsidal or semi-circular endings and exedras of clipping yew hedges”(Mowl, 2000: 114). These features of the garden are closer to formal gardens than what Castell’s translations revealed about the Laurentium Villa. The translations of Pliny’s letters were indeed more in favor of natural gardens than the Renaissance models of Palladianism:

[I]n the gardens of the first Ages, they seem to have been no more than select, well-water’d Spots of Ground, irregularly producing all sorts of Plants and Trees, grateful either to the Sight, Smell, or Taste, and refreshed by Shade and Water: their whole art consisting in little more than in making those parts next their *Villas* as it were accidentally produce the choicest Trees, the Growth of various Soils, the Face of the Ground suffering little or no Alteration; (Castell in Hunt& Willis, 1988: 188-189)

This characteristic of irregularity and accidental nature slightly resembles some of the ideas of Addison, or even Switzer, and drifts away from the seventeenth century models. Castell in his work also calls attention to Pliny’s *Imitatio ruris*:

and in the *Imitatio Ruris*, he seems to hint at the third manner, where, under the Form of beautiful Country, *Hills*, *Rocks*, *Cascades*, *Rivulets*, *Woods*, *Buildings*, &c. were possibly thrown into such an agreeable Disorder, as to have pleased the Eye from several Views, like so many beautiful Landskips; and at the same time have afforded at least all the pleasures that could be enjoy’d in the most regular gardens. ( Castell in Hunt&Willis, 1988: 189)

This account demonstrates that Pliny’s *Imitatio ruris* is much closer to the English landscape garden of the years to come than what the Palladian models were. Chiswick’s garden would undergo some changes across the years, and these changes derived mainly from the influence that Kent exerted on Burlington after his decision to be a gardener as well. However, it will remain mostly a templated Arcadian garden. Kent, under Burlington’s patronage, didn’t have much freedom to use his imagination, only around the late 1720’s, when he was commissioned by Queen Caroline at Richmond Lodge and by Alexander Pope at Twickenham in the earlier 1730’s. His style underwent significant development and became more natural. One should not dismiss the possible influence of Castell’s work on Kent’s garden career, since he was quite close to his work. While Burlington dismissed most of the translations, Kent could have found the natural and irregular designs quite agreeable for his taste.

## II.3 William Kent's Garden Career Development and Pope's Partnership

Lord Burlington played an essential role in William Kent's career in England, since it was under his patronage that Kent obtained the connections needed to secure future works in painting and interior design decoration. His gardening career was a late discovery, as stated before, and for that reason, Burlington was not the best influence, due to his Palladian intents. Kent will therefore develop his informal style with future patronages, as with Burlington he didn't have the chance to do so. One of the first commissions, and perhaps one of the most important in the development of his garden career, was by Queen Caroline. Queen Caroline, former princess, was determined to proceed in a natural style, which by then was defended by several authors, such as Switzer with his *Ichnographia Rustica*, Addison and his essays on *The Spectator* and even Alexander Pope, with his work *Pastorals* that proved to be very influential at the time:

We may reasonably guess, in any case, that contemporary reader of *Pastorals* was less impressed by the pictorializing of their scenery, to which he was quite used from the example of Vergil, than by their fledgling author's success in acclimatizing Arcadia to England. (Mack, 1985: 138)

Queen Caroline dismissed the garden house and focused on the garden. She hired Bridgeman as a gardener and bent his formal gardening inclinations to her natural vision: "She had restricted Bridgeman to laying out these gentle, informal woods and to planting an Elm Amphitheatre instead of his usual intrusive, military-style, serried ranks of 'platoons' of trees" (Mowl, 2007: 171). Similarly to Lord Cobham, Queen Caroline was a strong-minded patron, and once again Bridgeman laid a garden that, though not his style, it would become one of the most influential at the time with Kent's help. There is no record as to how the Queen met Kent but they seemed able, to the extent of his work at Richmond, to exchange ideas, which allowed Kent to be creative. Kent built several buildings and scenes at Richmond but two of them were going to be the most iconic ones, the Hermitage (Appendix ChII-1) and Merlin's Cave. Merlin's Cave was a later work with Gothic inclinations; therefore I will focus on the Hermitage.

The Hermitage was quite a controversial work; *The Craftsman*, a hostile magazine bashed Kent's work, and in a conversation between the King and the Queen, the King said that he was displeased with Kent's work. Though the King didn't share

any love for arts like the Queen, Kent took his opinion into consideration and was seriously disheartened. Pope's defense of the Hermitage might have helped its construction, as he wrote to Lord Burlington to express his thoughts on the drawing, since he was quite fond of the cave (or grotto) idea; Pope would actually accomplish the construction of a grotto at Twickenham. It was probably thanks to that letter that Lady Burlington helped Kent come to terms with the Queen for his commission of the building. After its construction, the Hermitage was quite a success: "The Hermitage caused a sensation and public clamored for tickets to visit it"(Richardson, 2008: Ch17, paragraph 20). Kent accomplished one of the most prominent buildings of the time and the cave became an element of the garden that would be almost a key piece if one wanted to follow the current garden fashion. These first steps in garden design will be greatly improved by Kent's friend and later partner in garden design, Alexander Pope, as Mavis Batey points out: "When he turned to landscape gardening in the early 1730s Kent's greatest debt was to Alexander Pope from whom he had learned an appreciation of poetic landscape" (Batey, 1999: 99).

There is no mystery as to how Alexander Pope and William Kent became associates; Burlington was Pope's patron and when he came back from his Italian tour and brought Kent with him, he made all efforts to draw them together. Pope had already developed his own garden theory and principles and, as stated earlier, his *Pastorals* was one of his first influential works to deal with the perception of nature. However, it is in the essay of *The Guardian* in 1713 that he achieves to publish his first critical work about gardens. This essay follows the line of Shaftesbury's and Addison's scorn of topiary style:

HOW contrary to this simplicity is the modern Practice of Gardening; we seem to make it our Study to recede from Nature, not only in various Tonsure of Greens into the most regular and Formal Shapes, but even in Monstrous Attempts beyond reach of the Art it self: We run into Sculpture, and are yet better pleas'd to have our Trees in the most awkward Figures of Men and Animals, than in the most regular of their own. (Pope in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 207)

This passage clearly demonstrates Pope's view on the ideal garden; one that would follow nature and maintain it almost intact, and this was partly the same vision as Addison's. However, Pope makes some significant additions, related to the Ancients and their gardens:

THERE is certainly something in the amiable Simplicity of unadorned Nature that spreads over the Mind a more noble tranquility, and a loftier Sensation of Pleasure, than can be raised from the nicer Scenes of Art. THIS was the Taste of the Ancients in their Gardens as we may discover from Descriptions are extant of them. (Pope in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 205)

Pope's reference to the Ancients was close to the Castell's translations of Pliny but at that point, Pope was not yet familiar with garden construction; he was only projecting the ideas of the Ancients, which to a certain extent, might have influenced his patron Lord Burlington to pursue the Roman antique ideal, instead of Campbell's Palladianism. Pope's first experience with gardening came in 1719 when he started to plan his own Villa at Twickenham. The Twickenham house was a Palladian one; the influence of his patron, Lord Burlington, led him to this direction, since Pope had access to Burlington's drawings and sketches of Palladian architecture: "Burlington's advice was constantly sought. The earl also helped by supplying building materials" (Batey, 1999: 45). However, Twickenham's gardens were going to be quite different from the Palladian templed garden of Chiswick; while his patron Lord Burlington was focused on the main house, the garden buildings and the Palladian architecture, Pope's main concern orbited around the garden and its grotto. The grotto is one of the main elements in Pope's garden due to its significant presence in Classical poetry, as Batey says:

The grotto is one of the strongest images in classical pastoral poetry. Originally grottoes were natural caves with sacred springs said to be haunted by nymphs, later artificial grottoes or architectural nymphaea were built by the Greeks and The Romans for learned discourse and dedicated to the Muses, the protectors of the arts and sciences. (Batey, 1999: 55)

If one considers Pope's work with *Pastorals* and his translations of the *Iliad* and his deep admiration for the classics, it is only natural to say that this was one of the features of the garden that Pope praised the most not only in his but also in any other garden; such is the case of the Hermitage of Richmond lodge mentioned earlier. The grotto was located in the end of the tunnel that would connect the front of the Villa to the garden. The tunnel would guide the visitor through a stone tunnel until a wider space, then the grotto and then the garden, to achieve the effect of immersion into nature and isolation from the rest of the world. This kind of effect would be described in the *Pleasures of Imagination* by Addison; imagination working towards an agreeable suggestion, towards nature.

The Twickenham garden (Appendix ChII-2) was mostly a formal one; it had serpentine walks, groves and woodlands, but the main avenues were still formal in style and were mostly Bridgeman's accomplishment. Bridgeman's work could also be seen in the obelisk monument scene that Pope had erected for his mother after she passed away in 1733. Kent designed for Pope the Shell Temple, which would be placed right next to the exit of his tunnel-Grotto (Appendix ChII-3). This is perhaps the main difference between Burlington and Pope; for Burlington's Chiswick, Kent designed the exedra (appendix ChII-4) which is a classic building and scene, while the Shell Temple (appendix ChII-5) is closer to the early Rococo<sup>3</sup> than classic or Palladian architecture:

Kent and Pope were both by instinct more sympathetic to the relaxed, natural and fashionable style of the French *genre pittoresque* (early Rococo) than the Colen Campbell's rigid Palladianism or Lord Burlington antique Roman Revival. (Mowl: 2000, 97)

Though their ideas were similar in the perception of nature in the garden, Kent's most important project was the temple. He also made other works for Pope, such as his drawing of Pope in his beloved Grotto. Kent's and Pope's partnership will continue until Pope's death in 1744, and what Pope would write in verse or dictated from his taste to a certain scene or garden, Kent would put in practice<sup>4</sup>. In the 1730s Pope was a high authority when it came to gardens and gardening, and someone to be consulted on that matter. For this position, *The Guardian* essay must be credited but also the *An Epistle to Lord Burlington*, as one of the most important work on the principles of gardening:

It is the fourth and last epistle, 'To Burlington' (1731), which has gone down in the annals of garden history as the repository of perhaps the best (and certainly the most elegant) advice ever penned on the subject of landscape design. (Richardson, 2008: Ch 18, paragraph15)

The *Epistle* can be regarded mostly as a gardening poem, containing Pope's garden principles and an attack to everything that follows unnatural and classical values; such is the case of Inigo Jones and Andre Le Nôtre:

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<sup>3</sup> I will approach the Rococo Garden in the third chapter when discussing the Chinese influence on the English Landscape Garden.

<sup>4</sup> We can find such an example in the Rousham Garden, which I will consider further ahead in the chapter.

And something previous ev'n to Taste – 'Tis Sense;  
Good Sense, which only is the Gift of Heave'n  
And tho' no science, fairly worth the Sev'n  
A Light, which in yourself you mist perceive;  
Jones and Le Nôtre have it not to give  
(Pope in Bateson, 1961: 140, line 41-46)

Pope refers to Le Nôtre, who was the creator of Versailles and Inigo Jones, and one of the architects who worked in the Wilton house. Pope scorned these gardens due to the unnatural work they implied and the lack of sense of quality: “- but also the need for ‘sense’ to control ‘taste’. And ‘sense’ is defined, in part at least, as the proper recognition of and inner light, as the honouring of one’s personal instincts”(Hunt, 1989, 91). Sense becomes the required trait to achieve balance between nature and art. The mockery of formal gardens is visible throughout the poem:

Grove nods at Grove, each Ally has a Brother,  
And haf the Platform just reflects the other.  
(Pope in Bateson, 1961: 149, line 117-119)

Nonetheless, the most interesting parts in the poem are the verses that he dedicates to Burlington, his Italian revival and his idea of how to build a garden. These verses seem to be ambiguous:

You show us, Rome was glorious, not profuse,  
And pompous Buildings once were things of use.  
Just as they are, yet shall your noble Rules  
Fill half the Land with *Imitating Fools*  
(Pope in Bateson, 1961: 139, 23-26)

The first verses seem to praise Burlington for his wit and taste, as he managed to demonstrate Rome’s greatness but he was not excessive in doing so. In the last verses, Pope seems to criticize Burlington in regards to his obsession for the antique Roman style, as well as his efforts to implement it in England. This gives ‘profuse’ another

meaning: not having presented Rome with enough liberty, and “yet shall your noble rules” alluding to the strict rules of Burlington’s Roman style. Pope’s possible disappointment might go even further if we consider the garden that he elects to be the finest garden:

Nature shall join you; Time shall make it grow

A work to wonder at – perhaps a STOW

(Pope in Bateson, 1961: 143, line 69-70)

Pope chooses Lord Cobham’s Stowe as the garden to gaze upon and not Burlington’s Chiswick. Though Pope criticizes Burlington, it might backfire on him since he was fond of the formal style that Bridgeman practiced at Stowe and in Pope’s own Villa Twickenham. The epistle on the principles of building a garden reads:

Consult the genius of the Place in All,

That tells the Waters or to rise, or fall,

Or helps th’ ambitious Hill the Heav’ns to scale,

Or scoops in circling Theatres the Vale,

Calls in the Country, catches opening Glades,

Joins willing Woods, and varies Shades from Shades,

Now Breaks or now directs, th’ intending Lines;

Paints as you plant, and as your work design.

(Pope in Bateson, 1961: 142-143, lines 57-64 )

These verses outline some formal design characteristics, such as the lines and the theatre:

Pope was still thinking, with his theatrical, circling scoops and ‘intending lines’, lines in terms of Bridgeman’s work of 1726 at Stowe: that favourite device of an amphitheatre and the direct geometry of straight, connecting avenues. (Mowl, 2000: 104)



Pope still seemed attached to the formal style but his ideal conception of the garden seems to digress from it, with the shell temple's construction. Though it is Kent's only garden building and scene created for Pope in Twickenham, it can be seen in the *An Epistle to Lord Burlington*, that: "*Paints as you plant, and as your work Designs*" (Pope in Bateson, 1961: 142-143, line 64) is perhaps an allusion to Kent's work. Pope will greatly influence Kent with this concept of gardening being similar to painting, and it can be seen at Rousham's garden Venus Vale, Stowe's Elysian Fields and at Richmond Lodge, *Merlin's Cave*.

In the mid 1730s, Kent designed the other garden building for Richmond Lodge, the *Merlin's Cave* (appendix chII-6). By that time, Kent had already established his reputation as garden building designer, since he had built several garden buildings for different lords. Merlin's Cave could have been his downfall if his reputation was not so strong. Kent's commission for this building possibly came at the expense of Pope, as Batey says:

Kent considered Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* to be the best work for picturesque image-making and produced thirty two illustrations for an edition which was not finally published until after his death in 1748. It was almost certainly Pope who introduced Kent to the charms of Spenserian fancy. (Batey, 1999: 101)

Spenser works were highly praised by Kent and his thirty-two drawings are a corroboration of this. How the Queen had access to the drawings is unclear, but she was interested in one specific drawing, depicting Merlin:

that illustration of Merlin's cave could well have drawn the Queen's attention to the possibilities of Merlin's prophecies in *The Faerie Queene*. Kent's drawing, a gruesomely Gothic affair, has Merlin actually delivering those prophecies to Britomart and her maid Glauce. (Mowl, 2007: 201)

This enthusiasm in this drawing might be related to political life, more precisely the idea of connecting the Hanoverians with the Tudors:

Queen Caroline had several objectives in view when she commissioned Kent to set up the triple Thatched Cottage. If she had restricted herself to one message, then the impact of the waxwork would have been clearer. Primarily she hoped to remind

visitors that Hanoverian line was in direct descend from the Tudors. (Mowl, 2007: 201)

Political intentions aside, *Merlin's Cave* stands as a clearly gothic building. The reason why it was so scorned and disregarded could possibly be found in the fact that it was also one of the first to have some traces of Rococo. However, for Kent, *Merlin's Cave* was just another garden building; his garden career will start with Prince Frederic of Wales and will reach its prime at Rousham, where he will be in charge of laying out the whole garden.

Kent started his work in Rousham in 1738, and he was commissioned by the General James Dormer, who was a friend of Lord Burlington. Among Kent's gardens, it is the only garden that survives almost intact until today. Bridgeman had laid a formal garden there before Kent's arrival, who, unlike what he did in other scenes and garden buildings, he overhauled the whole garden only leaving some traces of Bridgeman work.

In Kent's plant (Appendix ChII-7) it is possible to see the undulating trees and the serpentine walks; although there are some straight walks in the garden, the irregular woodland is quite the main part of the garden, alongside the most relevant scene that Kent created in this first half of the English Landscape Garden, The Venus Vale (Appendix ChII-8). As Batey says "The best 'management of surprises' was the climax of the garden, the Spenserian Venus Vale and its rustic grotto cascade and dancing satyrs" (Batey, 1999: 121). Batey's reference to Spenser confirms, to a certain extent, the influence that Pope might have had on Kent and his creative process. The Venus Vale scene was composed by a rustic stone bridge with a central statue of Venus; the scene would follow the cascade into a small stream which would lead to another rustic stone building set with three other cascades that would fall into a stone-carved pond. On each side there were two statues and a belt of trees irregularly disposed. This scene sums up part of the evolution of Kent's career and this stage of the English Landscape garden, including the irregular planting, which represented the concept that Pope was so fond of, namely of art imitating nature. Rousham was the last garden that Kent worked on, just when the Rococo garden style started to rise, to which he contributed during his early years as a gardener<sup>5</sup>. By 1748, the year of Kent's death, Lancelot 'Capability'

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<sup>5</sup> Richmond lodge with *Merlin's Cave* was a clear example of this.

Brown had started making improvements at Stowe, which would lead to the famous Brownian English Landscape Garden.

## **2.4 - Lancelot 'Capability' Brown and the Establishment of the English Landscape Garden**

Brown's achievement was not to be found in a new art, but rather in the impressive way that he reshaped the English Landscape Garden leading to the English Rococo decadence. Brown simplified the previous English landscape garden built by people like Kent, Vanbrugh and Bridgeman, and transformed the garden in a belt of trees surrounding the whole estate; an irregular assignment of trees, serpentine walks with massive lawns and irregular shaped lakes with an occasional bridge. An example of this type of creation can be found in Croome Court that I will analyze further ahead. Brown's garden career is more similar to George London's than Vanbrugh's, Bridgeman's or Kent's; he was a businessman:

Before them and after them are the professionals, the Londons and Browns: nursery magnates selling their plants and trees, drainage and Hydraulics experts leaders of small teams of technicians but able to control a hundred more temporary labourers when the harvest was gathered and seasonal unemployment had set in. (Mowl, 2000: 150)

Brown's model will prove to be prolific over the English landscape. However, Brown had to start somewhere and that would be under Lord Cobham's commission at Stowe. Brown was born in Kirkharle and his apprenticeship was under William Lorraine, head gardener. Lorraine's garden was formal but it was under his apprenticeship that Brown obtained his nurseryman abilities, although he did not develop a formal style, and if he did, Cobham would soon steer him away from it. Brown leaves Kirkharle in 1739 and arrives at Stowe in 1741. During those years almost nothing is known about him:

The Two years from Lancelot's leaving Kirkharle in the early 1739 until he started work at Stowe in the early 1741 are almost lost years, with few clues as to his whereabouts; but during these two years he met and won the woman who was to be his wife, gained a great deal of experience in water engineer and making lakes, the key to his later success. (Brown, 2012: 27)

These years are directly connected with Brown's personal life and the improvement of his skills, which are going to be quite useful for his first significant scene in Stowe, The Grecian Valley. There, he would work under Kent's orders, though Kent was not present most of the time, and thus any record of their relationship would be of little use. By 1747, The Grecian Valley's (Appendix ChII-9) construction had begun. The Valley is Brown's first great work within his own style, while the scenes that retain Lord Cobham's touch are the Monument and the Temple Concord and Victory. The rest of the garden is a combination of serpentine pathways and an extensive Lawn with occasional trees placed irregularly. This was the breakthrough for Brown:

What he had done at Stowe, with the visual prop of grand Ionic temple, he then proceeded to do in the same year as a favour for a neighbouring landowner, the Duke of Grafton, at Wakefield Lodge, four miles to the north-east, but this time without the support of a garden building. ( Mowl, 2000: 152-153)

After Wakefield, the Duke of Grafton will employ Brown in Euston Hall in Suffolk which will lead to his fame: "The House of Lords was a club, word to mouth commendations went quickly around and they would explain those prestigious commissions which came Brown's way in the 1750s" (Mowl, 2000: 153). From here, Brown's commissions would rise in number and he became quite influential with his minimalist style. He took advantage of the fact that poaching was quite fashionable at the time. There were several laws against poaching, the last being the act of 1755, which forbid the trading of partridges and pheasants. That act only made poaching an even more privileged sport, as this fashion went back to Princess Caroline's Richmond lodge, where George II would often join hunting parties near the Thames. What made the difference was the change from the partridges, which was quite popular, to the pheasants:

Formerly pheasants had been kept in pheasantries as ornamental pets, destined only later in life for the pot. Now they began to be bred as semi-wild birds and it was soon realized that pheasant flourished, not in deep forest, but on edge of woodland. The perfect breeding ground for them was a shelter belt of trees, a belt such as Brown was equally ready to plant for aesthetic reasons and to provide privacy of the park. (Mowl, 2000: 154)

This fashion was perfect for Brown's ideas to flourish, where ample belts of trees could be made around the estate, and would even help Brown to build his parkland more rapidly, since there wasn't a desire for garden buildings, as previously:

No shooting party wants to be impeded by Chinese pavilions or ruined gothic abbeys, therefore minimalist planting would become both functional and fashionable and Rococo would go into natural decline. (Mowl, 2000: 154)

Brown, under all these favourable circumstances, was prepared to make gardening his business, and he was about to have a large number of commissions. I would like to focus on Croome d'Abitot in Worcestershire, which is a good example of his work during the second half of the eighteenth century. Croome was commissioned by the 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Coventry, the first advances in the scenery being of a Rococo layout: "Thinking initially in Rococo terms, however, not Picturesque, he worked upon an intimate inscape." (Mowl, 2000: 155). Soon, after the main Palladian house had been built, Brown turned his attention to the landscape and decided to create the same scene that he did at Stowe, Grecian Valley:

Remembering how he had converted a shallow fold of Buckinghamshire farmland at Stowe into a Grecian Valley by planting trees along its modest, ridges, Brown heightened the marl ridge with a long belt of mixed deciduous trees and conifers. (Mowl, 2000: 156)

Brown's formula proved to be quite efficient, though it caused collateral damage by destroying certain areas, like the peasants' accommodations. However, after taking place in Croome, it would become quite a common method in several other commissions:

To draw the eye to this he demolished the old church near the house and rebuilt it with a bold gothic tower, up on the ridge. All other relics of Croome village were destroyed in his first ruthless clearing operation; peasants were rehoused out of sight in High Green estate village. It was a stroke Brown was to repeat more famously and gracefully at Milton Abbey, in Dorset, in 1770s. (Mowl, 2000: 156)

Brown's overhaul of the English landscape was a complete one, partly due to the pressure from the landlords to have their hunting grounds. However, by the 1770s Brown's status had risen, being a personal friend and adviser of King George III. Therefore, although we could argue that he was pressured at Croome, later in Dorset he had high enough a position not to give in to such pressures. After his clearing at

Croome, Brown proceeded to revamp the scenery. The gothic tower scene (Appendix ChII-10) was perhaps a very minimalist picturesque building enclosed within a belt of trees, though the scene preserves the natural-like style of the Rococo. Brown's minimalism might recall what Edmund Burke had said about one of the properties of beauty, smoothness, in *A Philosophical Inquiry into the origin of our Ideas of Sublime and The Beautiful* (1757):

The next property constantly observable in such objects is *Smoothness*. A quality essential to beauty, that I do not now recollect any thing beautiful that is not smooth. In trees and flowers, smooth leaves are beautiful, smooth slopes of earth in gardens, smooth streams in the landscape; smooth coats of birds and beasts in animal beauties; in fine women, smooth skins; and in several sorts of ornamental furniture, smooth and polished surfaces. (Burke in Harrison, Wood & Gaiger, 2001: 525)

The idea of smooth slopes and polished surfaces is intrinsic to the main element of Brown's gardens, the lawn. Brown's years of experience in planting and transplanting offered him a vast knowledge of how to make a smooth lawn, adding to the landscape this quality of beauty that Burke talked about. However, Brown is far from the picturesque garden movement that would be born from a reaction to his minimalist beauty. That movement would strive to counter it with the sublime, and in this effort Burke is going to be one of the main influences.

Brown's gardens will remain quite influential even after his death in 1783; he was a businessperson like no other and his style, and, while simple, he maintained the irregular and asymmetrical lines achieved during the early eighteenth century and the Rococo period. This style also allowed him to be hailed as one of the greatest gardeners of his time and to define what would later be called the (his) English Landscape garden. Nonetheless, it should not be forgotten that the first works he undertook at Croome followed the Rococo line, from which he preserved the serpentine and irregular patterns. Therefore, Brown's style can be considered to owe a lot to the previous achievements in the English Landscape. One might also argue that, if Brown was the precursor of the English Landscape garden, Lord Cobham and Stowe were of equal importance: "If anyone should be called the father of English Landscape garden it is Cobham" (Mowl, 2000: 150). Stowe is indeed the place where the early beginnings of the English Landscape garden can be traced and where it thrived, from London's formal style, to Vanbrugh's and Bridgman's Templated Arcadia and from Kent's Elysian Fields supervised by Brown, to his Grecian Valley.

### **III From Chinese to Picturesque – Influences and Style on the Margin of English Landscape Garden**

The English Landscape Garden and its process of evolution allowed space for other styles to develop, but was also subject to some influences that were later disregarded in the core of its development. I will be focusing on some of these aspects, particularly the conceptual influence of the Chinese garden and the later Chinese garden during the Rococo period of the English garden. This chapter will also touch upon the styles that were developed out of the construction process of the English Landscape Garden, such as the *Ferme Ornée* and the picturesque garden.

#### **III.1 From the Chinese Garden to the Rococo - Chinese Gardens and Consideration on the Chinese Garden in England**

Perhaps the problem of the Chinese garden as a conceptual influence on the English Landscape garden resides in two main problems. First, it was a foreign style, and second and more importantly, the way that it was approached in the context of the English garden later in the eighteenth century. In this section of the chapter, I will consider some aspects of the Chinese garden, its history and aesthetics, and how it was understood in England; initially as a conceptual idea reinforcing the irregular garden style by William Temple and Joseph Addison and later by William Chambers with his orientalism.

England's first contact with Chinese culture was through commerce in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the East India Company. During this period, several artifacts arrived to England, from paintings to porcelain. The majority of those artifacts depicted palaces, gardens, landscapes and Chinese architecture in general, but the most important aspect was that they were Europe's main contact with Chinese culture and art. This aspect adds to the difficulty of being able to understand the Chinese garden history and its aesthetics. However, tracing the Chinese garden back to its origins, the Chinese imperial gardens, which appear on the artifacts that were sent to England, there are some basic aesthetics and theoretical concepts that might shed some

light on these foreign gardens and why they seem to have been so pleasant to the English authors.

The Chinese garden has a mythical, philosophical and historical background. There are several songs with sacred texts which can be related to mythical gardens, though I will focus on two paradisiacal gardens; Xuanpu from the western Chinese tradition and the Isle of Immortals of the eastern tradition. Xuanpu is located at the top of mount Kunlun between earth and heaven. It is accessible for human, though it is hard to get there. As soon as they would arrive, immortality was granted. Zongqi Cai's description was one of a wild mythical garden:

Xuanpu is a very large park some eight hundred leagues squares, according to one account. Within the park, there were luxurious palaces, terraces, pavilions, wells with jade banisters, and exotic plants, birds, beasts foods; there are many plants and animals that, when eaten, can cure serious diseases; and there are coursing streams, jade-grease producing rivers, cool breezes, gigantic barley trees ( which are forty feet high and five span wide), a variety of trees (including trees of immortality), dancing and singing phoenixes, and kind of “ looks-like-flesh creature” (shirou 视肉) that can never be fully consumed and will always grow back to his original size and shape(resembling the liver of and ox). (Cai, 2004: 130)

The main theme seems to be the abundance of nature, with tall trees, self-regenerated animals for people to eat, miraculous cures and mythical animals, such as phoenixes. The other elements of this garden are quite interesting when considering historical gardens. The reference to opulent palaces and pavilions, streams and rivers can be found in the early gardens, where the palace was quite an important building, as it symbolized the power of the ruler. Of considerable importance was also the element of the lake in the Chinese garden.

The Isle of Immortals of the eastern tradition consisted of Island Mountains made for immortals to inhabit. The descriptions are quite similar to Xuanpu:

The islands had high mountains, lush vegetation, misty valleys, blue rivers and the most delightful flora and fauna imaginable. Pleasure pavilions lined their shores. According to the traditional Chinese story, the islands drifted on the ocean until secured by 15 great turtles. But a giant captured six of them and the islands drifted away. The other three isles (P'eng-Lai, Fang Hu and Ying Chou) remained in the Eastern sea. The islands contained plants which could restore youth, mushrooms of immortality, waters of life and life-prolonging trees.



These two mythical garden descriptions are going to influence the historical gardens of Qin's and Han's dynasties, the first dynasties to develop the Chinese imperial garden. Before considering the gardens of Qin and Han, it is important to consider the two main streams of Chinese philosophy, Confucianism and Daoism, which influenced the Chinese garden:

Confucianism as a group of philosophical doctrines engendered a political ethic rather than a religion. Social relations and obligations were central to its teachings, and the underlying principle was that only in society could an individual reach self-fulfillment; life's ultimate purpose was considered in function of the role and activity of the individual. The family, as the original, spontaneous and natural form of association, was taken as a model for society. Confucianism looked at man working in a definite context, in society and within the family. Daoism, based on the principle of the unity of the cosmos, taught rather that man belonged to a vaster order of things: the purpose of life was to seek harmony with the forces of nature. (Rinaldi, 2011: 13)

The principles of Confucianism focused on ordering the society and relegating a role to each individual; this role would be the ultimate objective and the individual's space for improvement. Family was the foundation of society and basic form of aggregation, thus each role assigned to an individual would complement the others, reaching harmony within society. Daoism has a metaphysical approach, where the individual is part of nature and the way to achieve self-fulfillment is through inner growth or spiritual growth so as to reach enlightenment and therefore, another state of conscience and understanding of the universe. Rinaldi says that these two streams of philosophy will coexist in the garden:

This double philosophical inspiration was even more apparent in the radical juxtaposition of the conceptions of domestic architecture and of the garden: the former followed a geometric matrix based on symmetry and hierarchical relations among the parts, while the latter remained rather the realm of spontaneity and imagination. (I-10) (Rinaldi, 2011: 14)

These two philosophical concepts can be translated into aesthetics principles; Confucianism will regulate the architecture of the buildings present in the garden and Daoism the disposition of the garden itself. Considering the orderly and social aspect of Confucianism, the palace, the main garden building with adjacent pavilions where the

family lived, would be symmetric and formal in its architecture, while the garden was influenced by Daoism where irregularity and nature-like forms were the aim. These principles were integrated in each other instead of entering a conflict; the objective was to achieve harmony between garden and garden building.

In the gardens of Qin's and Han's dynasties, the disposition of the garden was going to follow these principles as well as the ones of the mythical garden. The first park to be created was during Qin's dynasty; the *Shanglin* Park. This park was used as a hunting park, as the emperor had several animals and plants to increase the diversity of the park, as described in the legendary paradises. During Han's dynasty the sixth emperor, named Wudi, did the same but added more buildings to the area, which would be called the Kunming Lake:

There he brought plants and animals from distant lands, and had pavilions and little temples built, as well as a great artificial body of water, named Kunming Lake. Even though it remained mainly a hunting park, Shanglin became a miniature of the empire itself, with wooded heights, watercourses and pools. (Rinaldi, 2011: 15)

The Kunming Lake is located where today stands the summer palace of Beijing (Appendix ChIII-1). Although it has been rebuilt over the centuries, the large lake can still be observed as a central point of the picture. It is impossible to know how exactly these gardens were initially, because they were destroyed, and the ones which survived were renovated over the centuries according to the style of the time. These changes, however, will not interfere with the core principles of the garden, the harmony or coexistence between the formal buildings and the garden. The Yuanming Yuan (appendix ChIII-2), or 'Gardens of Perfect Brightness', which was built during the eighteenth and nineteenth century and then destroyed in 1860 during the war, is an example of a garden that was built centuries after the first imperial gardens, but still retained the core characteristics. The pools and water elements are still central to the scene and the buildings retain the formal design, while the garden is still presented in an irregular style. This would be the same irregular style that William Temple will call the *Sharawadgi* in his essay, *Upon the Gardens of Epicurus: or, Of Gardening, in the Year 1685*(1692).

William Temple's essay was also one of the first to defend a more natural approach to the garden, and Shaftesbury and Addison would follow. But what really

differentiated him was the introduction of the Chinese garden in the discussion of the English garden. The way Temple had contact to Chinese culture is explained by Mowl:

He had learnt, partly from intelligent observation of Chinese porcelain and lacquer work, but chiefly from his reading of travel books like Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Travels in the Kingdom of Ethiopia, China, Tartaria* (1653), that the Chinese had a completely different aesthetic of garden design to that of current Europe. (Mowl, 2000: 64)

Temple's access to these artifacts allowed him to give an interesting account of what the Chinese garden and the ways of planting were like:

The *Chineses* scorn this Way of Planting, and say a Boy, that can tell an Hundred, may plant Walks of Trees in straight Lines, and over-against one another, and to what Length and Extent he pleases. But their greatest Reach of Imagination is employed in contriving Figures, where the Beauty shall be great, and strike the Eye, but without any Order or Disposition of Parts, that shall be commonly or easily observ'd. And though we have hardly any Notion of this sort of Beauty, yet they a particular word to express it; and, where they find it hit their Eye at first Sight, they say the *Sharawadgi* is fine or is admirable, or any such Expression of Esteem. (Temple in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 99)

Temple's description focused on a concept that was not easy to grasp at the time and the following years; beauty without order. How did the Chinese manage that, Temple was not quite clear; he only said that their gardens had no order or disposition. Temple's access to Chinese culture was limited and he did his best in his effort to describe the concept of harmony in a garden, especially between the element of formal buildings and of the irregular garden. That was a challenge, as there was not a definite space for each of those features; they occupied the same space. To the English, this was a completely alien idea, if one considers the influence of French garden at that time. George London was transforming England according to the formal French style, where everything needed to have a determined space and shape in order to exist. Temple's account also suggests being careful when implementing such a style in England:

But I should hardly advise any of these Attempts in the Figure of Gardens among us; they are Adventures of too Hard Achievement for common Hands; and though there may be more honour if they succeed well, yet there is more dishonor if they fail, and 'tis Twenty to One they will; whereas, in regular Figures, 'tis hard to make any great remarkable faults. (Temple in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 99)

Temple was aware of the fact that it was quite impossible to achieve such a type of garden, and his account was a criticism towards the lack of skill of English gardeners to make a garden in the *Sharawadgi* manner, and a comment on how disastrous it could be if they attempted to create one. Temple's essay would remain an influential text for the next few years and maintain its fame thanks to Addison. Castell would also make an allusion to this essay in his translations. Addison, in no.37 of *The Spectator*, refers to Temple's consideration about the Chinese garden:

WRITERS, who have given us an Account of *China*, tell us, The Inhabitants of the Country laugh at the Plantations of our *Europeans*, which are laid by the Rule and Line; because, they say, any one may place Trees in Rows and uniform Figures. They chuse rather to shew a Genius in Work of this Nature, and therefore always conceal the art by which they direct themselves. They have a word, it seems, in their Language, by which they express the particular Beauty of a Plantation that thus strikes the Imagination at first Sight, without discovering what it is that has so agreeable an Effect. (Addison in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 142)

Addison's description was clearly based on Temple's essay, as he focused on the natural particularity of the Chinese garden and the lack of disposition. Imagination could strike without the deconstruction of either the entire scene or its individual elements. These features came as a contrast to the carefully planned elements that stood out from each other in the European gardens, which were Addison's main focus and to a certain extent Temple's as well. Both authors, while they gave a description of what they had read and seen, they were more interested in pushing forward the idea of the natural garden and attack the formal garden, leaving the aesthetics of Chinese garden behind and focusing mainly on its visual presentation. That was a similar method also used by Robert Castell in *The Villas of the Ancients Illustrated*:

By the Accounts we have of the present Manner of Designing in China, it seems as if the two former Manners a Third had been formed, whose Beauty consisted in a close Imitation of Nature; where, tho' the Parts are disposed with the greatest Art, the Irregularity is still preserved; so that their Manner may not improperly be said to be an artful confusion, where there is no Appearance of that Skill which is made use of, their *Rocks*, *Cascades*, and *Trees*, bearing their natural forms. (Castell in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 189)

Castell's portrayal of the Chinese gardens was focused more on the imitation of nature and on their natural conservation. When it comes to the aesthetics, he praised the

disposition of the parts of the garden that contrasted the Chinese principle aesthetic of the whole. Castell also mentioned the skill of avoiding artful confusion, which was what the Chinese would call harmony or balance between the elements to create the whole. However, all these accounts would be extremely influential to push forward the concept of irregularity in England, a crucial element that led to the English landscape Garden. The Chinese garden was also part of the mid-century Rococo tendency with Sir William Chambers' essays and the garden at Kew.

The Rococo garden is perhaps the rise and downfall of what could have been the Chinese aesthetic principles in the English garden. However, to understand this, it is important to consider some aspects of the Rococo English Garden first. Timothy Mowl gives quite an accurate description of what had started in Richmond Lodge, with Princess Caroline's meeting, and was followed timidly until the 1740s, when it became more influential:

The creative but sometimes conflicting innovations in garden design which the last five chapters have traced resulted, by the mid-century, in what has come to be called the 'Rococo Garden', and eclectic free-for-all where classical garden buildings are joined by Chinese, Gothic and Mohammedan structures, all set in asymmetrical fantasy against backgrounds of artfully placed trees and natural seeming lakes. (Mowl, 2000: 136)

The conflicting innovations that Mowl refers to could be easily connected to Richmond Lodge, the garden building *Merlin's Cave*, the Shell Temple at Twickenham, and some designs of William Kent (*The Faerie Queene*), which are examples of early Rococo. The most defining characteristic was the free-for-all manner of those gardens; there were no rules in terms of element disposition of the garden, thus allowing the coexistence of a Palladian temple and a Chinese house or Tower in the same garden. However, the Rococo Garden follows the natural principles with nature-like landscape and asymmetrical designs. The fantastic imagination and freedom of this style allowed the Chinese interest, already established thanks to the porcelains and other artifacts, to proliferate to gardens in the form of Oriental or Chinese garden. To this tendency, William Chambers became very influential with his essays and his garden buildings in Kew. Chambers had three works about the Chinese garden, and I will focus on two of those works; *Design of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines, and Utensils* (1757) and *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (1772). The third work, *Plans*,

*Elevations, Sections and Perspective Views of the Garden and Building at Kew in Surry* (1763) was an architectural guide with plans and designs of the garden buildings at Kew which I will not use. In *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines, and Utensils* (1757) Chambers gave an account of his visit to China and the Chinese gardens that he had encountered there:

In, their scenes of horror, they introduce impending rocks, dark caverns and impetuous cataracts rushing down the mountains from all the trees are ill-formed, and seemingly torn to pieces by the violent tempest; some are thrown down, and intercept the course of torrents, appearing as if they had been brought down by the fury of the waters; (Chambers in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 284)

Chambers was probably rather intense in his description, but what he described matches the nature-like features of the Chinese garden. However, the extent to which he understood the mythical and philosophical principles behind the Chinese garden is unknown:

As the climate of China is exceeding hot, they employ a great deal of water in their gardens. In the small ones, if the situation admits, they frequently lay almost the whole ground under water; leaving only some islands and rocks: and in their large ones they introduce extensive lakes, rivers, and canals. (Chambers in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 285)

He considers that the large extensions of water, lakes and pools are simply because of the climate, when perhaps part of these types of construction can be seen as a way of emulating the great extensions of water of the mythical paradises. Chambers' account was an empirical one, unlike the previous accounts that were made by the observations of artifacts. This made Chambers capable of applying this type of architecture to the English garden, something he would achieve at Kew. In fact, he was more able to do so than Temple, Addison or Castell, who were only trying to push forward the irregular and natural style. At Kew, Chambers constructed several buildings but very few survived. The Pagoda (Appendix ChIII-3) was one of those that survived; it was one of the most popular Chinese buildings that were built at the time:

In 1761-1762, Chambers himself planned a ten-storey pagoda In the Chinese Style for the royal property of Kew London (IV-1), which became probably the most important example of "Chinese" architecture in Europe. (Rinaldi, 2011: 104)

Despite all the popularity, Chambers was later scorned by William Mason in *An Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers* (1773) a direct response to his *Dissertation in Oriental Garden* (1772). This essay by Chambers contained the ways of how Chinese gardens were designed but also and more importantly, a picturesque mood, which the Chinese garden could capture in some aspects. The essay was a more detailed account of his work in 1757 when it comes to the process and the elements involved in the Chinese garden. At the same time, Chambers provided some principles of his own concerning gardening art:

Art must therefore supply the scantiness of nature; and not only be employed to produce variety, but also novelty and effect. For the simple arrangements of nature are met with in every common field, to a certain degree of perfection; and therefore too familiar to excite any strong sensations in the mind of the beholder, or to produce any uncommon of pleasure. (Chambers in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 319)

This carries many similarities to William Gilpin's idea of striking beauty as a whole in a pictorial scene, thus reflecting the picturesque feeling. Henceforward, Chambers would continue his essay describing the art necessary in the process of implementing some effects and elements that the Chinese used in their gardens; he even described the dichotomy between the symmetrical buildings and asymmetrical garden, although he did not elaborate on its origin, but only the effects it produced. Further in the essay, Chambers warned the English gardeners to be careful when trying to imitate the Chinese garden:

European artists must not hope to rival Oriental splendor; yet let them look up to the sun, and copy as much of its luster as they can, circumstances will frequently obstruct them in their course, and they may often be prevented from soaring high: but their attention should constantly be fixed on great objects; and their productions always demonstrate, that they knew the road to perfection, had they been enabled to proceed on the journey. (Chambers in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 233)

Besides the warning, Chambers seems here to be writing about his own experience as a garden architect and if that is the case, it reveals that what he had built might not have been exactly what he wanted but what he was required to construct. Does this passage point out that he might have wanted to design according to the Chinese style but without copying pagodas? Almost certainly not, such was the admiration of Chambers for the Chinese style and the emphasis on the imagination. Nonetheless, Mowl draws attention to the fact that the most important aspects of Chambers' work, as well as of all the other

works related to the Rococo style, denoted that gardening was a gentleman's hobby: "They might call in professional architects like Henry Flitcroft or William Chambers, but it was the patron who decided the exotic subjects" (Mowl, 2000: 148). Therefore, the patrons had the final saying when it came to their property's disposition.

The Chinese garden became less and less popular with the downfall of the Rococo Style in England, so one may question whether the Chinese Garden was, after all, a great influence on the later English Landscape Garden, as professed by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown. The answer seems to be no. A "Chinese temple" in Brown's way was as bad for the extensive lawn hunting grounds as a Palladian one. However, it contributed to the garden debate in its early days and to its transition to irregular and asymmetrical style. The Chinese garden also became a great influence on the rest of Europe, which was imitating the English Landscape Garden. Although Europe was not following the one Brown was creating, the continent would aspire to the Rococo style, hence its name *Continental Jardin Anglo-chinois*.

The Rococo garden is not the only garden showing its eclectic nature. Approximately around the 1740s when Rococo garden was in its development, another style will derive from the evolution of The English Landscape garden: the *Ferme Ornée* which will make use of the Rococo but adding an important characteristic: a functional Farm.

### **III.2 Ferme Ornée**

The *Ferme Ornée*, or ornamented farm, was a style that was first discussed by Switzer, in the third volume of *Ichnographia Rustica* (1718-1742), in an extended version. The style wanted to combine garden art with agriculture and functional farmland:

The ferme ornée was an ingenious attempt to satisfy two enthusiasms which have surfaced in society at roughly the same time. One was the craze for the word of theocritus's nymphs and sheperds, 'natural' Arcadian or Elysian landscaping; the other was the scientific interest in stock breeding, crop rotation and forestry which we have since come to describe as the Agricultural Revolution's there was the DULCI of the one and UTILE of the other, both requiring expression (Mowl, 2000: 124)



The style was rejected by all the Lords and gardeners that were erecting templated Arcadias and Switzer was the only one to defend it. Later, it was picked up by two gentlemen, Philip Southcote and William Shenstone. Southcote started building his Wooburn Farm in 1734, and Shenstone began the construction of The Leasowes in 1742. The basic style concept was the combination of agricultural and garden art, which allowed other elements of several styles to coexist. The main difference between the Rococo garden and the *Ferme Orneé* is, perhaps, the core principle. One of Joseph Spence's accounts of Southcote, Wooburn Farm, described it as quite simplistic. This, however, might not be entirely true, as pointed out:

Spence conveys the impression that Wooburn was a simple 125 acre estate with a garden belt of trees, bushes and flowers all around it. He gives a detailed sketch of the 'Ordering of Planting', with the trees – beeches, chestnuts and hornbeam – shading down through the bushes – lilac, laburnum, holly – to the flowers – roses, sweet William, primroses jonquils. In reality the perambulation of the Farm was more complex it is evident that, as he laid out, Southcote was working his ways towards what would be Shenstone's solution in the 1740s, which a 'play' area of pasture dotted with eclectic pleasure buildings – Grecian, Gothick and Chinese – on one side the grounds and a working farm of arable land fields with only a few, lesser, pleasure buildings on the other. (Mowl, 2000: 129)

Spence depicted Wooburn Farm as an ornamented flower garden. With time, Southcote would transform Wooburn into an eclectic farm with pastures and garden buildings next to each other. However, the garden buildings not only added more variety to the estate and were also praised for their functionality by John Parnell:

Here was at Mr Southcote's, beside all the lovely laws of cattle and ornamental ground, a lovely field of wheat, a fine one of oats, of barley and as fine clover as I ever beheld, ready to be cut and thrown over the ditch if they pleased into a crib in the pasture field where horses tuned out (Parnell in Mowl, 2000: 128)

The Farm stood as a bland Rococo garden and a functional farm; partly achieving the objective that was proposed by the concept of the *Ferme Orneé*. Shenstone's The Leasowes was possibly the improved version of Southcote's Wooburn farm:

Where Shenstone had profited by Southcote's example was in his appreciation of the need to lure visitors on from point to point, not merely by waterfalls and viewpoints, but by what were becoming the standards delights of a visitor-worthy estate: Ghotick, Grecian and Chinese structures, wholly unauthentic and logically

inappropriate to their site, fantasy buildings bored by general sober rationality of their age. (Mowl, 2000: 130)

Shenstone's *The Leasowes* suffered from the same problem as *Wooburn Farm*. It was made of checkpoints which didn't provide unity to the garden; the buildings were forced and not carefully planned. Shenstone's idea seemed to be focused on the element of surprise in the garden that could provide pleasure. Nevertheless, one of the garden scenes is particularly worth of praise; the *Virgil's Grove*. The painting of *Virgil Grove* by Thomas Smith (Appendix ChIII-4) presents a scene that combines the picturesque with the more natural approach of Rococo gardens. A stone-crafted waterfall is presented among a wild disposition of trees. Shenstone started adding some more elements that enriched the garden, using time and investment that was not always available to him:

Shenstone always admitted that the dominant factor behind his planning was always financial constraint: 'I give my place the title of a *ferme ornée*; though if I had money, I should hardly confine myself to such decoration as the name requires'. (Mowl, 2000: 133)

The starting point was the Grove, which was given a more picturesque feeling: "Another cascade below the grove 'Falls near twenty feet amidst some broken rocks or fragments of Stone, into deep hollow shaded trees, which conducts it into the large expanse of water below the ruined priory'" (Mowl, 2000: 134). *The Leasowes* was praised by Gilpin, who in theory coined the term 'picturesque'; the shaded woods and fragmented rocks were quite a sight for Gilpin's concept. All in all, *The Leasowes* was not a breakthrough when it came to the English garden; it was, as his owner intended, a popular garden with many buildings and scenes to be seen. Therefore, it was a success, as Shenstone was possibly more interested in fame than in nature or art.

Shenstone wrote '*Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening*' (1764), which was published one year after his death, which presented Shenstone's ideas on gardening. In that work, he made allusions to the ideas that were also used in *The Leasowes*. The most curious part in this essay is Shenstone's reference to the picturesque:

Gardening may be divided into the three species – Kitchen-gardening – parterre-gardening – landskip, or picturesque gardening: which latter is the subject in the following pages – It consist in pleasing the imagination by scenes of grandeur, beauty, or variety. (Shenstone in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 289)

The definition of picturesque for Shenstone is quite different from Gilpin's picture-like quality of the landscape or the garden. That is because Shenstone adds some interesting remarks that would enrich his perception of the picturesque:

RUINATED structures appear to derive their power of pleasing, from the irregularity of surface, which is VARIETY; and the latitude they afford the imagination to conceive an enlargement of their dimensions, or to recollect any events or circumstances appertaining to their pristine grandeur, so far as concerns grandeur and solemnity. (Shenstone in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 291)

The irregularity of the surface was one of the elements that Gilpin could have possibly agreed on. Could we argue that Shenstone might have helped to shape the concept of the picturesque? It is highly improbable, as he could have had more influence than Kent had, was it not for the Elysian Fields at Stowe that Gilpin highly praised. As for the transition from Rococo to Picturesque, The later improvements at the Leasowes might have made this transition more obvious. However, that hadn't been Shenstone's intention, as he wasn't trying to found a new aesthetic aside the *Ferme Ornée*. Southcote, at his early beginnings at Wooburn Farm, followed the *Ferme Ornée* more closely than what Switzer might have expected, as the Wooburn Farm was a way less adorned garden than Shenstone's The Leasowes.

### III.3 Picturesque English Garden

The English Landscape Garden by the mid eighteenth century had truly become an English art; Lancelot 'Capability' Brown established the style by following his own thoughts and ideas, and his hegemony in the English Garden would be almost incontestable, was it not for the picturesque garden. The picturesque garden was going to provide a contrast to the simplistic style that Brown implemented in England. William Gilpin and Edmund Burke were going to be the main influences in developing this style. As mentioned earlier, Gilpin had coined the term 'picturesque' in his essay *The Principles of Painting considered, so far as they relate to prints* (1768) and Burke with his *A philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757). Gilpin defined picturesque as: "that Kind of beauty which would look well in a picture" (Gilpin in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 337). This beauty is what Gilpin

considered to be a scene that strikes the eye and the disposition of all elements and its parts needed to create an agreeable whole. This idea was not original, as Addison had explored it with his references to imagination, and even Pope when he said in *An Epistle to Lord Burlington*: “Paints as you plant, and as your work, Designs” (Pope in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 212). However, Gilpin’s first picturesque insinuations predate the definition, in his work a *Dialogue upon the gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham at Stow in Buckinghamshire* (1748) which was an account of the gardens at Stowe through the lens of two fictional characters, Calloph and Polyth. While Calloph represented the artfully arranged nature, Polyth stood for the wilderness and untouched beauties of that natural world. In this dialogue, the characters describe parts of Stowe as they visited it, discussing on the ideal landscape. One of Calloph’s lines is of particular interest, as it was similar to Gilpin’s definition of the picturesque, in *The Principles of Painting considered, so far as they relate to prints* (1768): “Calloph. I am admiring the fine View from hence: So great a Variety of beautiful objects, and all so happily disposed, make a most delightful Picture”(Gilpin in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 254).

Gilpin elaborated further on his idea in his essay *Observation on the river Wye* (1782). In this essay, Gilpin described the scenery of the Wye River and divided it in parts like a painting:

Every view of the river, thus circumstanced, is composed of four grand parts; the area, which is the river itself; the two side-screens, which are the opposite banks, and marks the perspective; and the front-screen, which points out the winding river. (Gilpin in Harrison, Wood & Gaiger, 2000: 837)

This division of the scene was also composed by ornaments which could be the ground, wood, rocks and buildings. Those descriptions enhance the principles that Gilpin developed towards the landscape, and which reflected his influence on the precursors of the picturesque garden, Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight. However, if Gilpin was to influence the disposition of the garden, Burke would set the tone with the Sublime. In his work, Burke defined the Sublime as the opposite feeling of pleasure:

Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite ideas of pain, and danger, that is to say, whatever is any sort terrible, or conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the *sublime*, that is, it is productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling. (Burke in Harrison, Wood & Gaiger, 2000: 516)

According to his approach, any object that evoked ideas or feelings such as danger, destruction, fear, and the unknown, were part of or could be related to, the Sublime. This concept could also be applied to the wild landscape, since untamed and unexplored land was, and still is, considered a dangerous place. Gilpin's description and paintings show that while he didn't use the term sublime, he did touch upon the topic of the wilderness and roughness of landscape. For instance, in his division of the ornaments of a scene, he considered the rock ornament to be more picturesque if it bore traces of wilderness:

Such objects, independent of composition, are beautiful themselves. But the rock, bleak, naked unadorned, seems scarcely to deserve a place among them. Tint with mosses and lichens of various hues, and you give it a degree of beauty. Adorn it with shrubs, and hanging herbage, and you still make it more picturesque. (Gilpin in Harrison, Wood & Gaiger, 2000: 838)

For Gilpin, roughness is an essential quality in the picturesque; the rocks would instill a more picturesque feeling if decorated with wild vegetation. This can be connected to the sublime, which would make use of elements such as a sharp rock and wild vegetation in the landscape. Much of what can be seen in Gilpin's painting of river Wye (Appendix ChIII-5) can evoke this feeling of danger that Burke's sublime alluded to. A dichotomy can therefore be established, where Gilpin's picturesque equates to the roughness of the landscape in opposition to the smoothness of Lancelot 'Capability' Brown's park.

This differentiation would be contested by Uvedale Price. Price was a friend of Richard Payne Knight, and together they would become the main figures of the picturesque English garden movement. Price's work, *An Essay on Picturesque* (1794), disagrees with the clear definition provided earlier for this term, and suggests his own: the 'picturesqueness', as he would call it, would constitute a combination of the two previous concepts; Burke's beauty and the sublime:

PICTURESQUENESS, therefore, appears to hold a station between beauty and sublimity; and on that account, perhaps, is more frequently and more happily blended with them both than they are with each other. It is, however, perfectly distinct from either; and first, with respect to beauty, it is evident, from all that has been said, that they are founded on very opposite qualities; the one on smoothness, the other on roughness; - the one on gradual, the other on sudden variation; - the one on ideas of youth and freshness, the other on the age, and even of decay... (Price in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 355)

Price proposed this term as an in-between state, supporting his belief that beauty and sublime were combined within the picturesqueness and therefore it could never truly be one or the other. He continuously stressed the importance of the coexistence between beauty and sublime, while adding that picturesque's main sensation should be curiosity: "To pursue the same train of ideas, I may add, that the effect of picturesque is curiosity;" (Price in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 356). The curiosity effect was not simply inherent in the picturesque; several other authors, such as Addison, had spoken about the way the garden stimulated the mind in such a way that it captivated the attention of the viewer and aroused imagination. This leads to what Mowl says about Uvedale Price's general concerns about the garden: "The truth is that, despite being politically a Whig, Price was emotionally a conservative and a paternalist, devoted to the preservation of the old order of the countryside care" (Mowl, 2000: 164). Therefore, Price was more attached to Switzer's ideal of a garden with no buildings, than the picturesque, which could have a ruined garden building, or a more artful production: "It was nature unadorned that Price should aimed to preserve and copy and that, in the eighteen century, was not general enthusiasm, though it was one that Wordsworth would soon make fashionable in poetry" (Mowl, 2000: 164). This idea of untouched nature can be seen in Price's estate, Foxley in Herefordshire:

There is nothing conventionally park-like about it, just an unspoilt, unkempt corner of Herefordshire woodland. And that was exactly Uvedale Price's aim. He owned a shallow valley, bought up land around it to form a compact whole and planted trees, beeches for preference, on low hill crests to enclose his own ideal seclusion. (Mowl, 2000: 163)

Price's idea was not so much of a garden but of wild nature occasionally disposed in certain ways. While Price's estate did not provide any contribution to the picturesque, his essay was of paramount importance, not only because of the creation of his own term, but also because of the hostile way he criticized Brown's work. The smoothness of artfully created lawn was unacceptable for someone like Price, who was keen on wild and untouched nature. There were two main reasons that Price can be seen as a crucial figure for the picturesque garden movement. Firstly, due to this outburst towards Brown, and, more importantly, because of his friendship with Richard Payne Knight, who was the central figure of the picturesque garden.

When it comes to Knight, his accomplishments in relation to the picturesque garden can be seen in his estate in Herefordshire, Downton Castle, as well as in his

poem *The Landscape* (1794) and later essay *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* (1805). *The Landscape* is a three-book poem that contains Knight's general ideas on a picturesque landscape. The most intriguing part of this work is probably Thomas Hearne's illustration, as required by Knight, which portrays two pictures. Those would become very helpful in the attack against Brown's English landscape garden (Appendix ChIII-6). The first picture presented a serpentine river with some trees grouped irregularly across a vast lawn; a Chinese bridge crossed the river with the main house in the background. The second picture portrays the same landscape, but in a picturesque manner; the trees are not trimmed nor is the ground vegetation, as everything is kept in its natural state, with twigs and vegetation over the river and a wooden bridge that crosses the river. The house in the background seems to be engulfed by the wild trees. These two pictures identify the main differences that Knight wanted to establish between Brown's style and his picturesque concept. In the second edition of *The Landscape* in 1795, Knight addressed Price's idea of picturesque in his work *An Essay on the Picturesque* (1794) by adding verses in his book I and book II:

In nature, objects which in painting please;  
Such as the rotting shed, or fungous tree,  
Or tatter'd rags of age of misery:  
But here restrain'd, the powers of mimic art  
The pleasing qualities alone impart;  
For nought but light and colour can the eye  
But through the medium of the mind, decry;  
And oft, in filth and tatter'd rags, it views  
Soft varied tints and nicely blended hues,  
Which thus abstracted from each other sense,  
Give pure delight, and please without offence:  
But small attention these exceptions claim;  
In general, art and nature love the same  
(Knight in Harrison, Wood & Gaiger, 2000: 868 line 257-270)

These lines focus on Price's account of nature, which, according to him, could not encompass beauty and the picturesque. Knight replied using those verses, stating that,

although nature has both qualities, it cannot be fully appreciated if beauty and the picturesque are separated from each other. In the last verses, Knight stressed the sublime characteristic of the picturesque by saying: “Give pure delight, without offense” (Knight in Harrison, Wood & Gaiger: 2000, 868 line 268). This was a characteristic of Price’s picturesqueness that never truly recognized the roughness of a scene as beautiful and picturesque. In the second book, Knight’s verses were directed towards Price’s idea that the picturesque was an anti-utilitarian concept, while Knight defended that it was not:

Scarcely any parts of our island are capable of affording the composition of Salvator de Rosa, Claude, and the Poussins; and only the most picturesque parts those of Hobbima, Waterloe, and Adrian Vandervelde (Which have also their beauties) are to be obtained every where. Pastures with cattle, horses or sheep grazing in them, and enriched with good trees, will always afford picturesque compositions; and inclosures of arable are never completely ugly, unless when lying in fallow. (Price in Harrison, Wood & Gaiger, 2000: 874)

With this passage, Knight demonstrated his awareness of the English countryside, where certain compositions were not quite suitable. He argues that the picturesque can coexist with cattle and arable land, pushing aside the idea that only shady woodlands and gloomy thickets can exist in a picturesque scene.

This criticism was followed by Price’s response in the form of an essay, *A Dialogue on the Distinct Characters of the Picturesque and the Beautiful* (1801). This essay is a fictional dialogue of two characters that are the representations of Knight and Price. These characters defended their views on the picturesque, but more than that, the essay proved that the picturesque was and would continue to be very subjective, even after this animosity between Price and Knight: “And yet certain of issues at stake were to remain matters of substantial controversy throughout the modern period, seriously dividing advocates of opposed positions” (Harrison, Wood & Gaiger, 2000: 877).

In 1805, Knight wrote *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principle of Taste*, a work that clearly explained what he implied with the verses of *The Landscape*. He presented the idea that the picturesque derived from the association of ideas:

But this very relation to painting, expressed by the word *picturesque*, is that, which affords the whole pleasure derived from association; which can, therefore, only be felt by persons, who correspondent ideas to associate; that is, by persons in a certain degree conversant with art. (Price in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 349)



This pleasure through associations is only possible if the individual has a certain understanding of art, and if he is able to relate any object of art and nature to the ideas. This concept is close to Gilpin's definition of picturesque and Addison's concept of the pleasures of imagination. It also seems to be a quality inherent to the person, a certain sense to uncover the picturesque qualities of an object.

The concepts that Knight expressed in his written work became visible in Downton Castle, the alpine Bridge scene (Appendix ChIII-7). The bridge scene consisted of a wooden bridge with a walk, vegetation ledge and untrimmed trees. The bridge was quite similar to the painting of Thomas Hearne in *The Landscape* (1794) and led to a stone carved stairway and the path on the right continued until it disappeared in the woodland. That scene presented clearly Knight's aesthetical point of view on the picturesque. Gilpin's influence, coming from the accounts of the river Wye, can also be identified here, as the river had a central position in the picture, and it was one of the main elements, with one of the riverbanks presenting stones adorned with vegetation.

Mowl also calls attention to another picturesque park, Hawkstone. Hawkstone was held by Sir Richard Hill, and it was a combination of Rococo and Picturesque, which was a contrast to Knight's Downton Landscape:

Downton Gorge, like Knight its 'cherisher', has something of the dark side about it. Even its near-atheist owner half believed that wood spirits haunted the place. Hawkstone is entirely of the day: its warm red sandstone softens all its horrors and its routes are at cracking pace, ticking off items on their guide books, eager for the next cave, tower or precipice. (Mowl, 2000: 175)

Hawkstone seemed more focused on the roughness of the natural landscape than the artistic effect that Knight tried to show in the composition of the picturesque. However, the park still preserved the picturesque qualities that Gilpin had accounted for in his works: Hawkstone makes an appropriately compromising and confusing end to this chapter of stylistic indecision and refined uncertainty. (Mowl, 2000: 175). Mowl's affirmation is perhaps not so much about the Hawkstone Park, which combined Rococo and Picturesque elements, but rather on the picturesque style itself. The picturesque principles were debatable, apart from Gilpin's definition of the term and core concepts; every other concept, namely by Price and Knight, were subject to discussion. Even the concepts of beauty and sublime were adapted, drifting away from Burke's definition: "Words have shifted treacherously in meaning, confusing or understanding of the

picturesque movement. Burke's treatise has become almost inaccessible by etymological change" (Mowl, 2000: 176).

Despite all the confusion, the picturesque movement was the main opposition to Brown's style of English Landscape Garden. However, it did not manage to change the direction that garden fashion was heading to. Humphry Repton, Brown's successor in the business of English garden, would try out some picturesque features, but Knight, who was his contemporary, would not acknowledge his work, as he always compared him to Brown. However, it seems that Price could have agreed on certain parts of his work. If one thing is certain about the picturesque movement, is its definition in Gilpin's essays, which were followed by every later intervenient on this style.

## Conclusion

With this effort to provide an encompassing view of The English Landscape Garden, I believe that some clarifications have been made in relation to the questions raised in the beginning of this dissertation, namely the identity of the English Landscape Garden.

One of the main inquiries was whether the Chinese garden provided a sufficiently substantial influence so as to be made part of the process of the English Landscape Garden. The answer to this question is a balance between direct and indirect influence. Directly, the Chinese garden had no influence on the English Landscape Garden, as no English author seemed able to truly apprehend the ideological concepts behind this garden. Even Chambers, who had experienced these gardens empirically, unlike Temple or Addison for example, was unable to understand the philosophical principle of harmony of the Chinese garden, thus relying on the observed aesthetics. The same inability could have been observed, had a Chinese gardener tried to interpret The English Landscape Garden without grasping the concept of Nature, as expressed and approached by the English authors; it would have changed the experience of the garden completely.

However, when we consider the indirect influence of the Chinese garden, it is almost undeniable that it is part of the English Landscape garden. Temple, Addison and Castell, when they give their account on the Chinese garden, rely on it to push forward the concept of nature in the garden. That was more apparent especially with Temple and Addison, who, to a certain extent, make use of the Chinese garden to reinforce their arguments, alluding to the mockery that the Chinese could make when looking at European formal styles. One should not disregard, therefore, the influence of the Chinese garden on Chambers and how some of its accounts in *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (1772) were quite interesting when considering the picturesque: “Their scenes of terror are composed of gloomy woods, deep vallies inaccessible to the sun, impending barren rocks, dark caverns, and impetuous cataracts rushing down mountains from all parts” (Chambers in Hunt & Willis, 1988: 320). This account could, to certain extent, have been written by Gilpin, Knight or even Price which leads to the second focal point of the dissertation; the *Ferme Ornée* and the picturesque. Could

those styles also be considered when addressing the English landscape, therefore broadening the term? The answer could be found in relation to the Rococo garden.

This style has only been mentioned and not really analyzed in this dissertation; it did come to the foreground, however, when discussing the Chinese influence in the second half of the eighteenth century. The Rococo was dismissed, on the principle that gardens characterized by that style were eclectic gardens and encompassed a variety of influences, thus they were difficult to classify. Therefore, I decided to focus on the *Ferme Ornée* not only because its principles differed from the Rococo's, but also because it could be easily connected with the picturesque through Shenstone's essay and Virgil Grove at The Leasowes. However, we should consider the early Rococo, Kent's influence as well as Alexander Pope's. Kent's designs of the *Merlin's Cave* and the *Shell Temple* are the products of their owners' imagination. Queen Caroline envisioned a building based on the legends of King Arthur and Alexander Pope, a temple covered in shells to match the theme of Pope's nymph grotto. These are early examples of what would characterize the later style; the fantasy-like aesthetics. The importance, however, lies in the connection of Pope and Kent through these designs, on which one could argue that they were the pioneers of this style. Furthermore, Kent and Pope were also connected to the picturesque; Kent through one of his best works The Venus Valley at Rousham and the Elysian Fields at Stowe, which exhibited painterly qualities, and Pope by the word itself:

Pope was one of the first to use the expression 'picturesque' in English when he spoke of the 'imaging and picturesque parts' of Homer and the word was clearly synonymous with 'imaging' or scenes 'painted to the mind' while reading epic or pastoral poetry. (Batey, 1999: 99)

These considerations demonstrate the connections between these styles and the English Landscape Garden model. Additionally, it is quite interesting and pertinent that Brown's career and Gilpin's first remarks, two opposite styles, had the same origin: Stowe's Elysian Fields. In my opinion, the definition for the English Landscape Garden is broader than what it initially may seem to be, especially if we take into consideration not only all the authors and gardeners that have been part in the development of the English Landscape Garden, but also all of those who were involved in the development of other gardening styles.

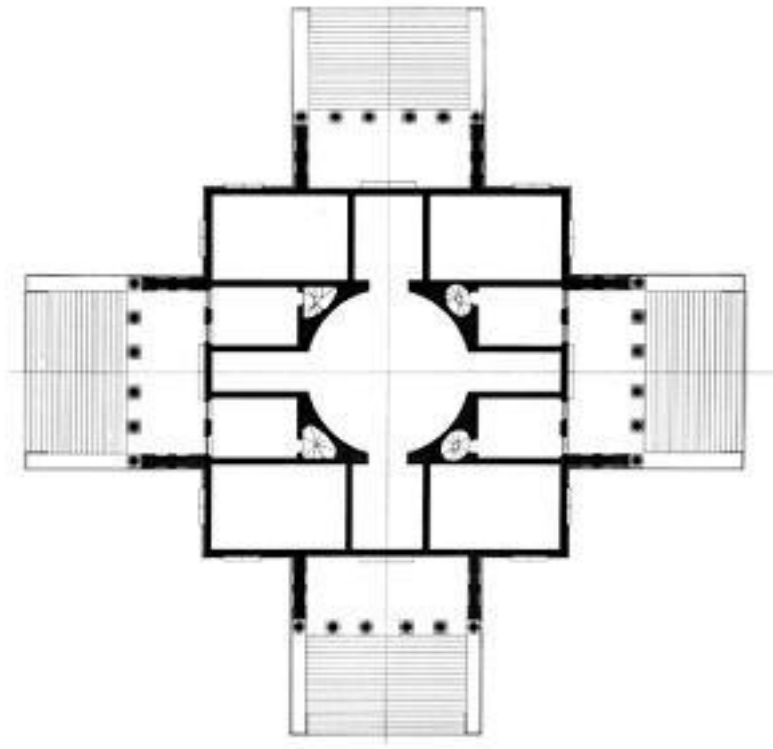
Last but not least on what constructs the identity of the English Landscape Garden, the dissertation approached the question of whether the process of its

development is truly what it makes it an English Model. I believe that the process can indeed be considered part of its identity, as the English Landscape Garden evolution is a very dynamic one. This assertion comes from one of the difficulties that arose while writing this dissertation, which was the effort to structure the first half of the eighteenth century chronologically; this proved to be quite a challenge. This is due to the fact that the progress of the English Landscape Garden was characterized by simultaneity; examples that demonstrate this were the gardening conference of Princess Caroline at Richmond Lodge, Lord Burlington's visit to Italy and Lord Cobham's innovations at Stowe. The possibility of the connections between different styles and their simultaneity, if not defining, certainly constitutes a great part of what constructs the identity of the English Landscape Garden.

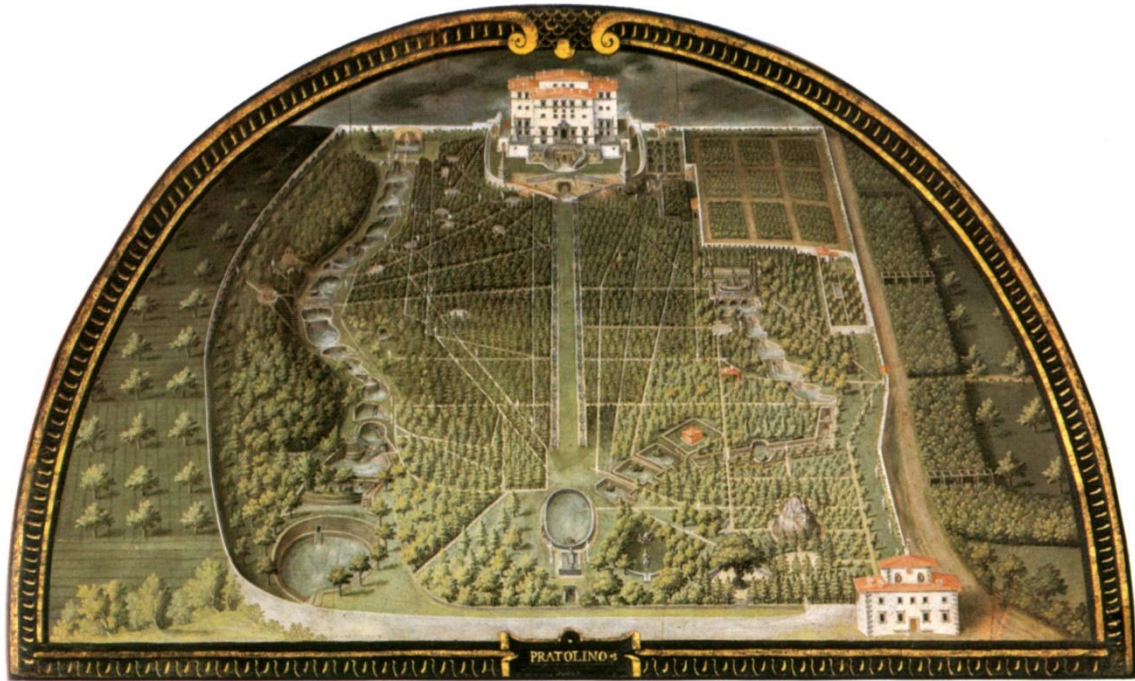
Concluding, the English Landscape Garden can be considered as an all-encompassing style; this evokes what Hunt's and Willis' work pointed out, as quoted in the introduction of this dissertation: It was a style that underwent development and refining for two centuries, with very high diversity and experimentation. At the end of this dissertation, I consider that it would be intriguing to consider the socio-political context of the garden in the society of eighteenth century. Throughout this work I have referred to several political events that had to be mentioned in relation to the English Landscape Garden and its development. However, since the eighteenth century politics was not my focus, I have not analyzed many aspects of the subject in depth, but simply touched upon some interesting cases. Such was, for example, the Kit-Kat club; although it was mentioned, its influence as a Whig club on The England Landscape Garden was not developed, nor was Queen Caroline's *Merlin's Cave* in terms of its political implications. These are just examples of some themes that could be approached in later works, as it seems that politics could have fueled certain particularities of gardening development.

## Appendix - Illustrations

### Chapter I illustrations



1 - Villa Capra plan consulted in (Turner, 1991: 23) available at URL:  
<http://s985.photobucket.com/user/luoshu/media/VillaCapragroundplanA.jpg.html>

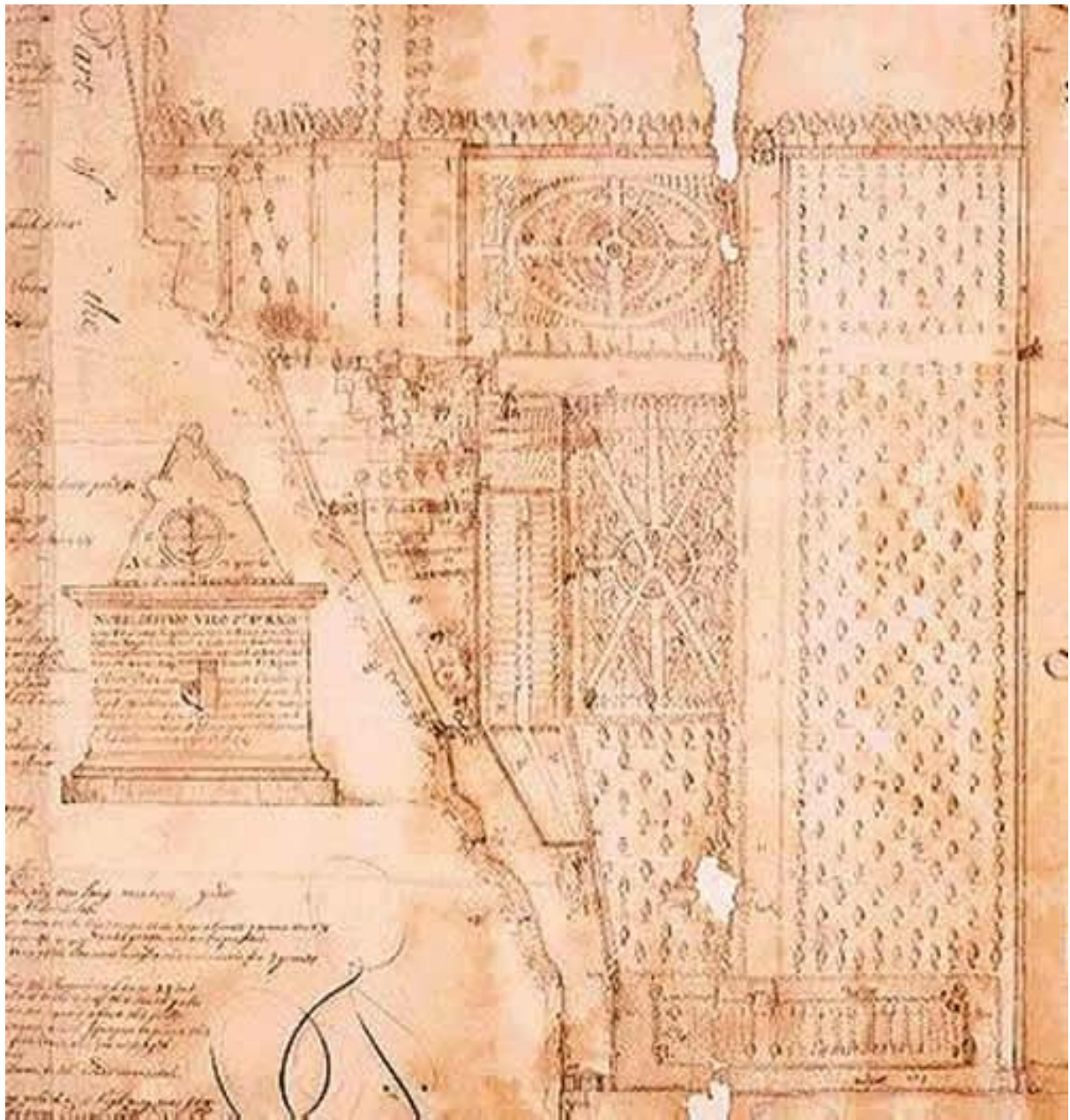


2 - Patolino Medici's Villa consulted in (Hunt, 1989: 18-19) available at URL: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c5/Pratolino\\_utens.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c5/Pratolino_utens.jpg)



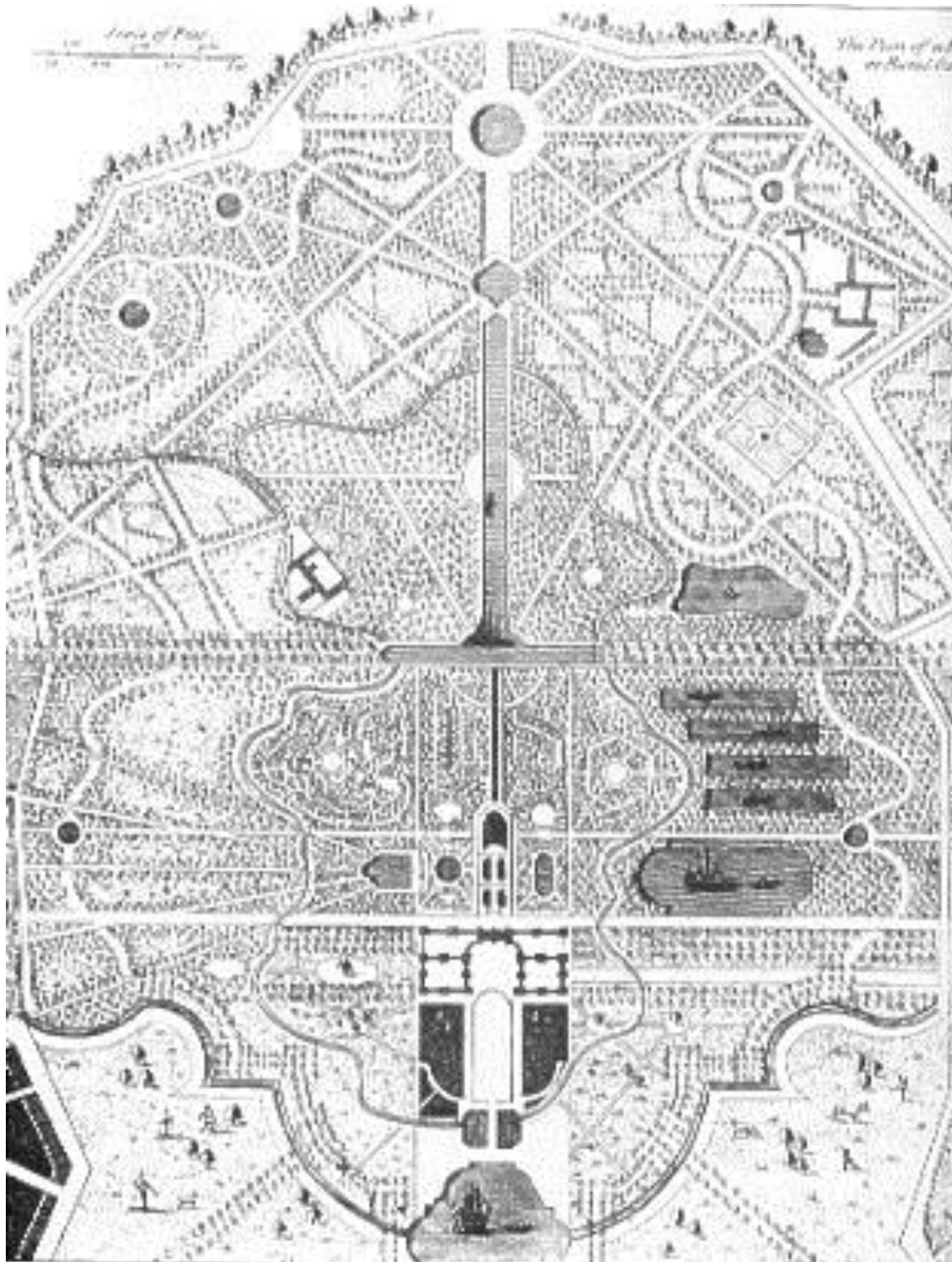
3 - The Wilton Garden designed by Isaac Caus consulted in (Turner, 1991: 46) available at URL: [http://www.gardenvisit.com/uploads/image/image/261/2615/tem1175seg2011\\_original.jpg](http://www.gardenvisit.com/uploads/image/image/261/2615/tem1175seg2011_original.jpg)





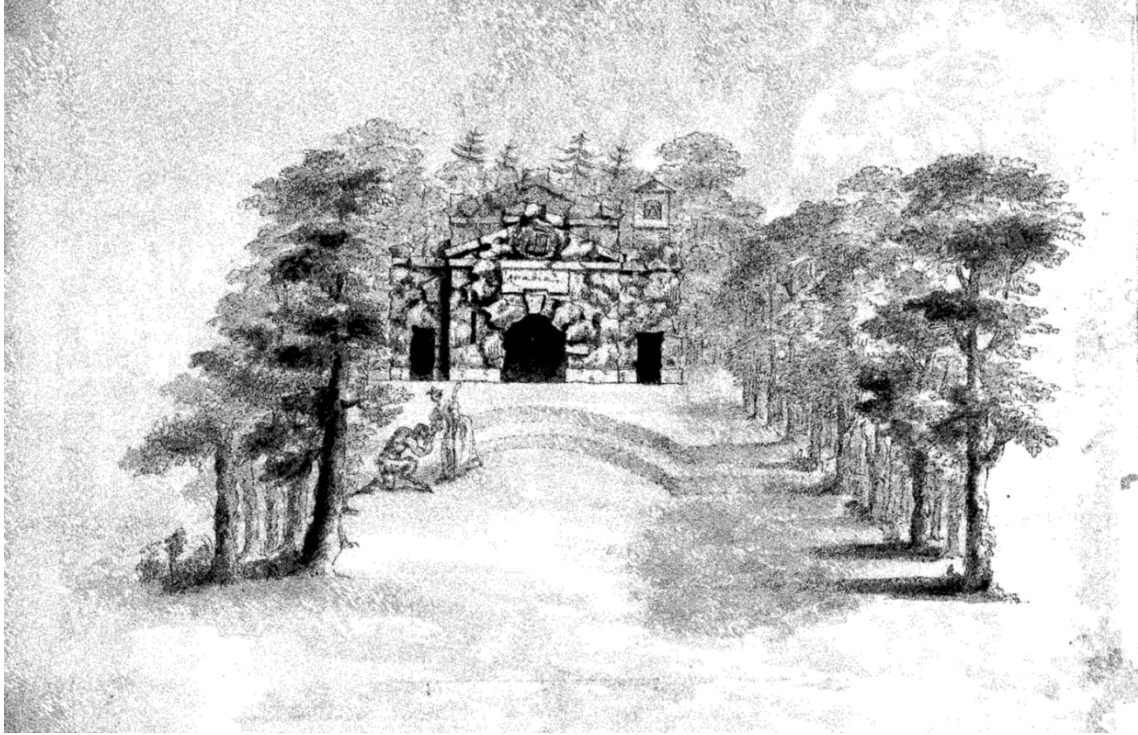
4 - Sayes Court garden plan consulted in (Mowl, 2000: 41) available at URL: <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/features/images/garden1.jpg>





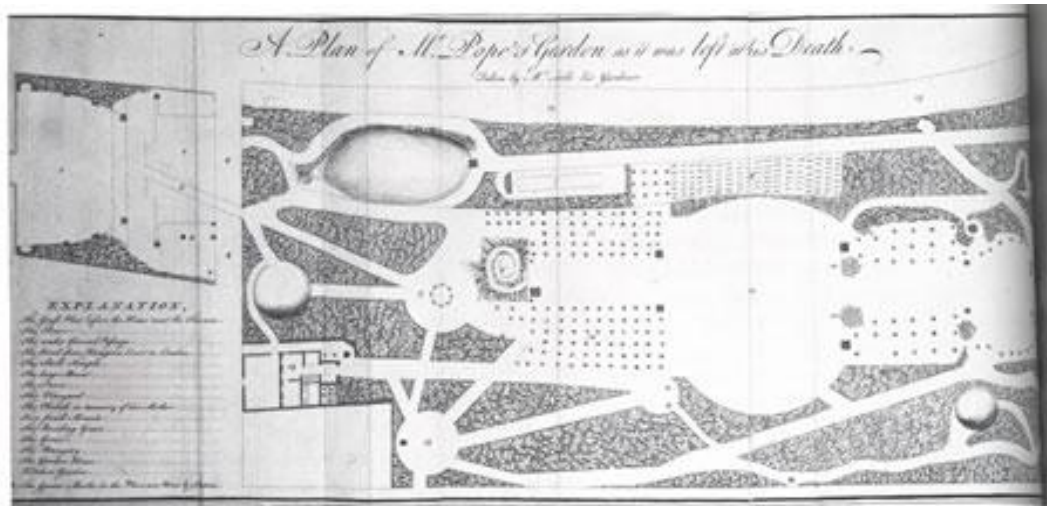
I - 5 - Design of an ideal state by Switzer in *Ichnografia Rustica* consulted in (Mowl, 2000: 87) available at URL: <http://www.graf-gartenbau.ch/Gartenreise/switzers.jpg>

## Chapter II Illustrations



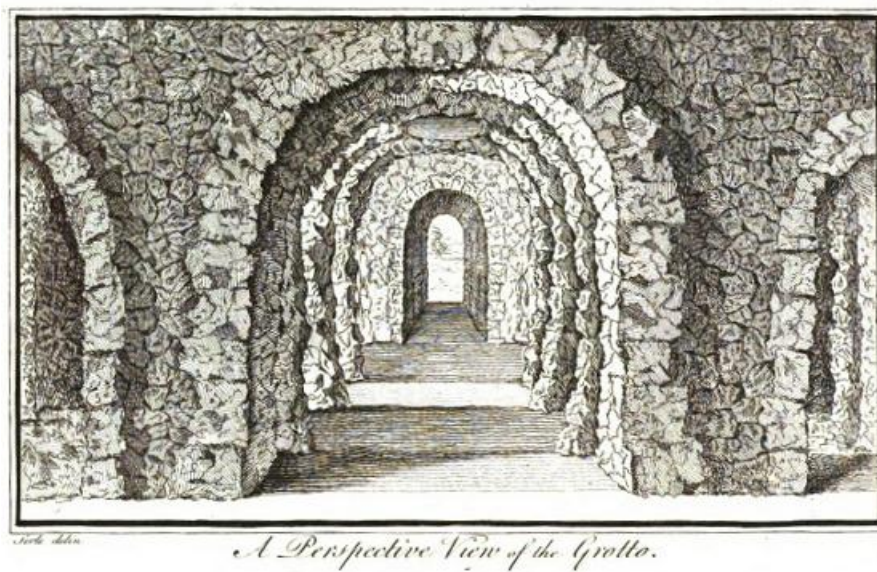
1 - The *Hermitage* garden building designed by William Kent consulted in (Batey, 1999: 103) available at URL:

<http://3.bp.blogspot.com/-5VqJx2qbL0U/VcBwYCeXTfI/AAAAAAAAEVM/HaP2hPUrQfA/s1600/William%2BKent%2BSoane%2BMuseum.jpg>



2 - Twickenham garden plan by John Searle consulted in (Batey, 1999: 68-69) available at URL:

<http://www.en.utexas.edu/Classes/Moore/neoclassical/images/gardens/small/SEARLE-248.jpg>



3 - Pope's Grotto Drawn by John Searle consulted in (Batey, 1999: 60) available at URL: <http://www.scholarsgrotto.com/images/PopesGrotto.jpg>



4 - Chiswick's exedra, by William Kent available at URL:  
<http://imgc.allpostersimages.com/images/P-473-488-90/80/8025/CA54300Z/posters/william-kent-view-into-the-exedra-at-chiswick.jpg>





5 - Shell Temple at Twickenham, by William Kent (Batey, 1999: 61) available at URL: <http://www.americangardening.net/blog1/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/Kent-Twickenham.jpg>



6 - Merlin's Cave, by William Kent (Mowl, 2007: 202-203) available at URL: <http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/image/2977382-3x2-460x307.jpg>



7 - Rousham Garden plan by William Kent available at URL:  
<https://totemscity.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/rousham-1.jpg>





8 - Venus Vale scene in Rousham Garden designed by Kent (Batey, 1999: 122) available at URL: <https://nyuarthistory.files.wordpress.com/2015/02/rousham-vale-of-venus-kent-1738-41kent-cat-p-24.jpg>



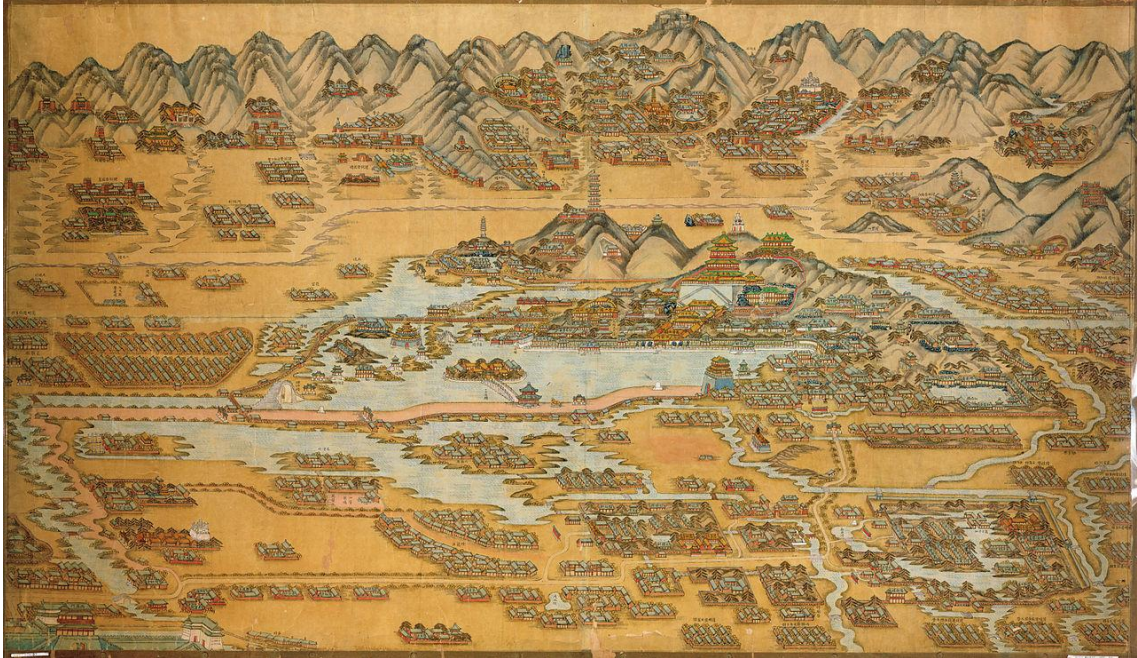
9 - The Grecian Valley at Stowe Gardens consulted in (Brown, 2012: 56) available at URL: <http://pages.uoregon.edu/helphand/englishimagestwo/image138.jpg>



10 - Gothic Tower scene at Croome Court. Picture taken from (Mowl, 2000: 157)



### Chapter III Illustrations



1 - Beijing Summer Palace and the Kunming Lake in the center of the picture. Available at URL:

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Summer\\_Palace#/media/File:Summer\\_Palace\\_1888.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Summer_Palace#/media/File:Summer_Palace_1888.jpg)

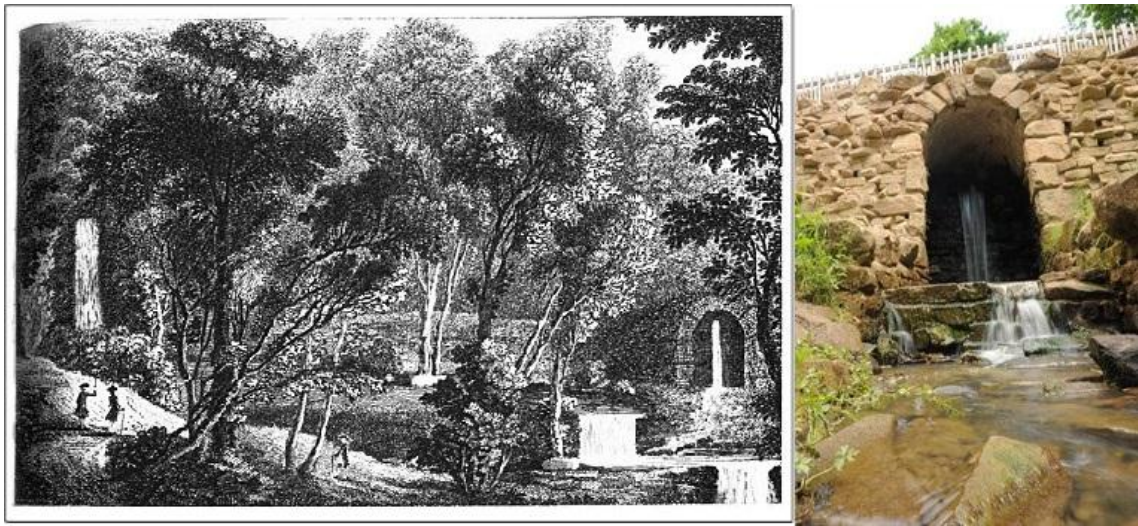


2 - A picture of Yuamming Yuan or Gardens of Perfect Brightness before its destruction in the war. Available at URL:

[http://www.chinatownology.com/images/Yuanmingyuan\\_fanghu.jpg](http://www.chinatownology.com/images/Yuanmingyuan_fanghu.jpg)



3 - The Chinese Pagoda, at Kew Gardens designed by William Chambers consulted in (Hunt & Willis, 1988: 287) available at URL: <http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/online/vol28no2/images/windsor-liscombe-08.jpg>

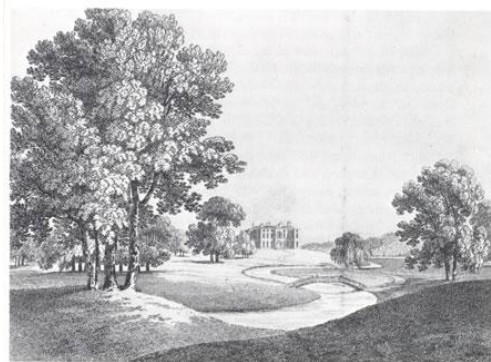


4 - The Virgil's Grove scene, at The Leasowes consulted in (Hunt & Willis: 1988, 245)  
available at URL: [http://blogs.reading.ac.uk/merl/files/2014/11/PRL\\_1643.jpg](http://blogs.reading.ac.uk/merl/files/2014/11/PRL_1643.jpg)





5 - Gilpin's painting of River Wye scenery consulted in (Mowl, 2000: 166) available at URL:  
<http://www.bristol.ac.uk/library/support/subjects/archaeology/imageresources/gilpin/16.jpg>



6 - Thomas Hearne drawing for *The Landscape* consulted in (Hunt & Willis, 1988: 343) available at URL:  
[https://www.google.pt/search?q=thomas+hearne+the+landscape&biw=1670&bih=837&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0CAYQ\\_AUoAWoVChMI\\_ujqm8SQyAIVTAMaCh3G7gsq&dpr=1.15#imgsrc=CqKq2yRmln8TYM%3A](https://www.google.pt/search?q=thomas+hearne+the+landscape&biw=1670&bih=837&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0CAYQ_AUoAWoVChMI_ujqm8SQyAIVTAMaCh3G7gsq&dpr=1.15#imgsrc=CqKq2yRmln8TYM%3A)

[http://static1.1.sqspcdn.com/static/f/83946/6905157/1273696960813/HEARNE\\_AND\\_POUNCY-343A.jpg?token=cWgqCPEd86pwiZLmLf9DVwU3qVU%3D](http://static1.1.sqspcdn.com/static/f/83946/6905157/1273696960813/HEARNE_AND_POUNCY-343A.jpg?token=cWgqCPEd86pwiZLmLf9DVwU3qVU%3D)



7 - Alpine Bridge Scene at Downton Castle by Thomas Hearne picture taken from (Mowl, 2000: 172)

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